



Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-87-225
Monday
23 November 1987

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Greece's Papoulias, Officials Continue Visit

Papoulias, Guests Tour Gjirokaster

AT 201702 Tirana ATA in English
0740 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] Tirana, Nov 20 (ATA)—Karolos Papoulias, foreign minister, and the other members of the Greek Government, Melina Merkouri, minister of culture and sciences; Evangelos Kouloubis, minister of environment and public affairs; Panayiotis Roumeliotis, minister of trade; and Konstandinos Yeoryiou, general secretary of the Foreign Ministry, and other top official and public Greek personalities went for a visit to the district of Gjirokaster on November 19.

They were accompanied by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Skender Gjinushi, minister of education; Kostandin Hoxha, vice minister of foreign trade.

Present were also Ksenofon Nushi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Athens, and Spiridhon Dokiados, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Greek Republic in Tirana.

The Greek friends were welcomed by Flamur Cani, chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council; Vitori Curi, vice chairwoman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly and other cadres of the district people's power organs.

The foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, and the other top Greek personalities went to the village of Labove e Madhe, where they were warmly greeted by inhabitants and workers of Lunxheri Agricultural Enterprise. Here they were received by Dhimiter Xharahu, chairman of the People's Council of the united village; Foto Fuqi, director of this agricultural enterprise, etc.

The foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, laid a wreath on the cemetery of the Greek soldiers fallen during the Italian-Greek War. Likewise, on behalf of the district War Veterans Committee, a wreath was laid by the vice chairman of this committee, Thimjo Muci, and the veteran, Tahir Llapi.

Then the Greek friends visited the museum of the village, where they got acquainted with the efforts of the inhabitants of Labove to win independence, for the development of education and culture, their contribution to the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War and the successes attained over the years of the people's power. The minister, Karolos Papoulias, wrote the following notes in the visitors' book: "I was greatly impressed by the heroic road of the highlanders of Labove. I want to thank all for the cordial reception extended to us. We will always recall it."

In honour of the Greek friends, the chairman of the People's Council of the united village, Dhimiter Xharahu, gave a reception at the hearth of culture. He wished them welcome and toasted to the traditional friendship between our two peoples and countries.

Thanking for this reception, Karolos Papoulias said: "I want to thank on behalf of the Greek delegation for this warm reception in Labove village, which is not unknown to me. I know it long since for its men, for the dynamism for the fame of this village, for its patriotism. In Pogoniani, we appreciate the people of Labove too much. These receptions show of the sentiments and the perspective of friendship, because they are cordial and popular."

From here the Greek friends went to the city of Gjirokaster, where in the Cerciz Topulli Square they were greeted by its inhabitants. In honour of the foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, and the other members of the Greek Government, Flamur Cani, chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, gave a lunch. After wishing welcome to the friends, he said among others: "Your visit to the district of Gjirokaster, the birthplace of our unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, affords the possibility to get closely acquainted with the development and progress of our district, where a part of Greek minority lives and works. This will serve the further strengthening of traditional friendship between the Albanian people and the Greek one, the relations of good-neighbourliness between our two countries and peoples."

In his greeting, the foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, said among others: "What we experienced and saw these days, the evaluations we made emanate from our hearts. On this occasion I thank all those who contributed to this warm reception. There have been realized all those things foreseen by your legendary leader, Mr Enver Hoxha, regarding the Greek-Albanian friendship. This lunch today is not but an expression of the dynamic development of this friendship, desire of the Greek and Albanian peoples, two heroic peoples. This expresses the political will, that which we felt these days in every meeting and talks we have had with the political leaders of friendly Albania, that responds to the political will of the socialist Greek Government. We fervently thank you and assure you that the relations of friendship will develop at faster rates."

The professional and amateur artists of the district gave an artistic program with Albanian and Greek popular songs and dances.

Today afternoon, the foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, and the other members of the Greek Government arrived on a visit to the city of Sarande.

Papoulias, Guests Visit Sarande

AU201704 Tirana ATA in English
0750 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] Tirana, Nov 20 (ATA)—On November 19 afternoon, Karolos Papoulias, foreign minister, and the other members of the Greek Government arrived on a visit in the city of Sarande.

They were welcomed here by Stefan Qirjako, member of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and chairman of the Executive Committee of the district's People's Council; Kosta Kallojeri, chairman of the Presidency of the District People's Council, and other leading cadres of the district people's power organs.

On occasion of the visit of the foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, and the other members of the Greek Government, Melina Merkouri, minister of culture and sciences; Evangelos Kouloumbis, minister of environment and public affairs; Panayiotis Roumeliotis, minister of trade; and Konstandinos Yeoryiou, general secretary of the Foreign Ministry, and the other top official and public Greek personalities, Stefan Qirjako, member of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, gave a dinner last night.

Attending were Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Skender Gjinushi, minister of education, Kostandin Hoxha, vice minister of foreign trade and others.

After wishing welcome to the foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, and the other ministers, as well as the other top personalities, businessmen, and representatives of the Greek press, Stefan Qirjako said among others: "We are glad and pleased to have amongst us tonight senior personalities of neighbouring Greece, with which our country maintains relations of friendship and mutual cooperation. These relations stem from the traditional friendship binding the Albanian people with the Greek one, from their common desire to live in peace and good neighbourliness between them. An important contribution to these relations has been rendered by the correct national policy of the party and government of our country and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, who have taken special care of the Greek minority in Albania, who lives happily and enjoys all the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. We wish you enjoy the visit to Sarande and we, on our part, will do our best that you get acquainted with the life, work and achievements of the people of our district."

Greeting during this dinner, Karolos Papoulias, foreign minister, stressed among others: "We are happy to be in this beautiful city. I express my joy that the chairman of the committee is an outstanding cadre from the minority, the minority which has contributed to the progress of the Albanian people and that has become today a bridge of friendship between the Greek and Albanian peoples. We will wind up our visit tomorrow and we may say that

it was a success. With the contribution of both sides, a new chapter is opened in our relations. To the joy of our friends and the despair of all those who do not wish this friendship, I greet you and wish your beautiful city progress."

During the dinner, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the Sarande artists gave an artistic program.

Papoulias Visits Greek Minority

AU211717 Tirana ATA in English
0740 GMT 21 Nov 87

[Text] Tirana, Nov 20 (ATA)— The foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, and the other members of the Greek Government, the minister of culture and sciences, Melina Merkouri; the minister of environment and public affairs, Evangelos Kouloumbis; the minister of trade, Panayiotis Roumeliotis; and the general secretary of the Foreign Ministry, Konstandinos Yeoryiou; other senior official and public personalities went for a visit at Livadhe village of "Lefter Talo" Agricultural Cooperative of Sarande District, on November 20 before noon.

They were accompanied by the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile; the minister of education, Skender Gjinushi; the member of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Councils, Stefan Qirjako; and the vice-minister of foreign trade, Konstandin Hoxha.

Attending were also the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in Athens, Ksenofon Nushi, and the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Greece in Tirana, Spiridon Dokiados.

In the center of the village there were gathered hundreds of inhabitants by the other villages of this economy, as well, where a part of the Greek minority in Albania works and lives happy. Young girls and boys dressed in popular characteristic costumes, men and women cordially received with songs and dances the guests from Greece and wished them welcome. At the entrance of the village they were received by the chairman of the People's Council of the united village, Vasil Nasto; the chairman of the cooperative, Sotir Qesa; and the chairman of the People's Council of Livadhe village, Andon Marko. A group of young girls presented bouquets of flowers to the guests. At the reception given on this occasion, the chairman of the cooperative, Sotir Qesa, after expressing his pleasure on the visit of the foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, and the other members of the Greek Government, said among others: "I wish to acquaint you with the activity, achievements and the transformations made over the years of the people's power in our cooperative which is named after "Lefter Talo," son of these villages, who together with hundreds of Albanian partisans and minority people fought for the liberation of this zone from the foreign invaders. Here

today it is sung to the bravery of Lefter, as it is sung to Qemal Stafa, Asim Zeneli, Margarita Tutulani, Mitro Xhani, and to many other heroes.

In the past the peasants have suffered very much. This province was once predominated by poverty and hunger, and malaria shortened the life of the people. The average life-span did not go beyond the 37. Over 90 percent of the houses are new. In all the 7 villages there are eight-year schools and at the centre of the cooperative there is a secondary school in two branches: general and agricultural. The lessons are given in Greek language by teachers who have graduated from the Secondary Pedagogical School and the Higher Pedagogical Institute of Gjirokaster. Up to now over 300 people have graduated from higher schools from the villages inhabited by the minority people. A special work is being done to preserve and develop the traditions of the people and each village has its folk group representing us down to the national folk festivals.

The constant care and a whole network of health service with doctors of various specialities have made possible that these last 8 years have experienced no death among the children from 0 to one year old and the average life-span of the people has amounted up to 72 years old. All these and other achievements are due to the wise and far-reaching leadership of our party, to the direct care of our unforgettable leader Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Ramiz Alia who has given very valuable instructions also during the visit he made to our economy.

In his greeting the foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, said among others: "I and the other members of the delegation are emotionned from the visit we made here. The work and the efforts of the minority people are inseparable from the work and efforts of all the Albanian people. But we, that come from Greece, are especially proud of your achievements. Today, more than ever, it has become clear that how correct is the road our two governments follow. It is precisely this development of the friendly relations that makes possible our being here and you are aware of our love. We are proud of you. These we heard of are a small part of the great creativeness of the Greek minority, which began with the common partisan war against the same invader, the same ideals, which we are fighting for even today. Go on with you beautiful and determined work, in the fraternization of the Greek and Albanian peoples." During this reception toasts were raised to the traditional friendship the two peoples of our countries.

Then the amateur artists of the folk groups sang and danced popular Albanian and Greek dances. Amidst this happy atmosphere the Greek guests met and talked with inhabitants, old age cooperativists, young men and women, who acquainted them with the work in the cooperative and the new life flourishing in the villages of their cooperative.

This was a beautiful and cordial manifestation of friendship. In this atmosphere, the minister of culture and sciences, Melina Merkouri, said:

We joyfully witness how these people here are, and how happy and attractive are the people, the girls and boys, and with what love they speak on Albania and on Greece. It is a great pleasure to see speaking in Greek these Albanian citizens, surrounding us with such love.

The foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, and the other members of the Greek Government, the senior official and public personalities were seen off with applause by the minority people.

Prior to the departure from Livadhe, where they wound up their official and friendly visit to Albania, the Minister Karolos Papoulias said: "This was a visit of a special importance and success. We are deeply emotionned by the welcoming sentiments extended to us, the Greek delegation. A vast road is opened ahead for the development of the historic friendship between the two peoples. We are in the midst of the villages of the minority and are acquainted also with the contribution of the Greek minority people to the progress of the Albanian people. We are especially glad, these were emotional moments for us. I pledge to make all efforts to the strengthening of the sentiments of friendship between our two peoples.

I want also to thank my colleague, Mr. Malile, for everything he has made up to the present in this field.

Papoulias, Visitors Depart

AU211744 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 21 Nov 87

[Text] Tirana, Nov 21 (ATA)—The foreign minister of the Republic of Greece, Karolos Papoulias, wound up the official and friendly visit he paid to the PSR of Albania at the invitation of Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs. He and the other members of the Greek Government left on November 20 from the Kekavije border point.

The Greek friends were seen off by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Skender Gjinushi, minister of education; Stefan Qirjako, member of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Sarande District People's Council; Vitori Curi, vice chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly; Flamur Cani, chairman of the Executive Committee of Gjirokaster District People's Council; Kostandin Hoxha, vice minister of foreign trade; officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the ministries and central institutions.

Also present were Ksenofon Nushi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Athens, and Spiridhon Dokiados, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Greece in Tirana.

Before leaving, the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, and the foreign minister, Karolos Papoulias, after expressing their satisfaction over this visit, stressed once again the common will of the Government of the PSR of Albania and the Government of the Republic of Greece to further strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries and wished the Albanian and Greek peoples happiness, progress, and prosperity.

Scholars Attend Symposium in FRG

AU211805 Tirana ATA in English
0915 GMT 21 Nov 87

[Text] Tirana, Nov 21 (ATA)—A symposium organized by the Association of the Southeastern Europe was held in Munich of the FR of Germany from November 9 to 13.

This activity was attended by Prof. Hekuran Mara, who delivered the report: "Achievements and Perspectives of the Development of the Economy of the PSR of Albania;" Docent Nexhmedin Dumani, with the paper: "The Structure of Agricultural Production and its Further Intensification Over the 8th Five-Year Plan;" and the economist Hetem Sula, with the paper: "Directions of the Further Development of Food Industry in the PSR of Albania in the 8th Five-Year Plan."

The report and papers read out by our scholars were followed with interest and were evaluated for their scientific level.

Six other reports and papers were read out by the German scholars in this symposium.

Plaka Heads Ministry Delegation to Turkey

AU221941 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 22 Nov 87

[Text] At the invitation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey, a delegation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania headed by Sokrat Plaka, vice minister of foreign affairs, has left for Ankara on an official and friendly visit.

Bardhi Returns From FAO Session in Rome

AU201718 Tirana ATA in English
0910 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] Tirana, Nov 20 (ATA)—Jovan Bardhi, minister of food industry, who attended the 24th session of the UN General Conference on Food and Agriculture (FAO) returned home.

Ambassador to Burma Presents Credentials

AU211758 Tirana ATA in English
0917 GMT 21 Nov 87

[Text] Tirana, Nov 21 (ATA)—The ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR of Albania in the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, Justin Papajorgji, presented the credentials to the president of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, U San Yu, on November 19, 1987.

Attending the ceremony of presenting the credentials were the general director of the President's Office, Aung Myint Bav, and the general director of the protocol of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, U Shve Zin.

Economic Progress Report for 15-21 November

AU212040 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 15-21 November carries the following economic performance reports:

Fier District: Twenty-six collectives fulfilled the plan up to 15 November.

Kolonje District has exceeded its plan to 20 November by 16 percent.

Pogradec District has exceeded its plan hitherto by 8 million leks. The Gur i Kuq Copper Mine showed particularly good results.

Puke District has exceeded its plan hitherto by 2 million leks.

Sarande District exceeded its plan to 10 November by 3.5 million leks.

Leaders' Appearances 15-21 November

AU212038 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian and Tirana ATA in English in their transmissions from 15-21 November report the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of transmissions in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, received Franz Josef Strauss, prime minister of the Land of Bavaria in the FRG, in Tirana on 16 November. (Tirana Domestic 161900) He also received Karolos Papoulias, Greek foreign minister, and other Greek government guests, in Tirana on 18 November. (Tirana Domestic 181900)

Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, received Franz Josef Strauss in Tirana on 15 November. (Tirana Domestic 151900) and received Karolos Papoulias and other Greek government guests in Tirana on 18 November. (Tirana Domestic 181900)

Besnik Bekteshi and Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo members, attended a meeting of the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania in Berat on 17 November. (Tirana Domestic 171900)

Besnik Bekteshi attended the signing ceremony of the agreement for economic, industrial, technological, and scientific cooperation with Greece in Tirana on 18 November. (Tirana Domestic 181900)

Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended a plenum of the Writers' and Artists' League in Tirana on 17 November. (Tirana Domestic 171900) Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, attended a dinner hosted by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, in Tirana on 17 November. (ATA 180745) Myftiu also attended an aktiv to discuss economic issues in Berat on 18 November. (Tirana Domestic 181900), and a reception at the Greek Embassy in Tirana on 18 November. (ATA 190915)

Rafsanjani Message To Todorov Warns U.S.

LD210948 Tehran IRNA in English
0832 GMT 21 Nov 87

[Text] Tehran, Nov 21, IRNA—An Iranian parliamentary delegation led by member of Majlis Foreign Affairs commission Mehdi Shamloo departed for Sofia to deliver Majlis speaker Hashemi-Rafsanjani's message on regional situation to his Bulgarian counterpart Stanko Todorov.

The message said that the U.S. with its aggressive and expansionist intentions has sent its military forces to the Persian Gulf and has attacked Iran's oil rigs as well as its cargo ships and violated its limits.

The message stressed that the revolutionary Iranian Muslim nation will not spare a 'suitable' response to U.S. threats and that 'more insecurity and unpleasant events' await Persian Gulf 'if such imperialistic threats and conspiracies continue'.

The delegation in its 5-day visit will also meet Bulgarian officials.

Dzhurov Meets Kulikov, Holds Talks

AU201338 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian
19 Nov 87 p 1

[Major Petyo Dafinkichev report: "Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov Has Arrived"]

[Text] On 18 November Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states, arrived in Bulgaria on a brief working visit.

The following were at Sofia Airport to meet the welcome guest and the officials accompanying him: Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense; Colonel Gen Velko Palin, chief of the Social and National Security Department of the BCP Central Committee; Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army; Col Gen Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense; Col Gen Mitko Mitkov, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army; deputy ministers of national defense, generals, and officers.

Also present at Sofia Airport were Col Gen Aleksandr Zvartsev, representative of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces with the Bulgarian People's Army, and Major Gen Givi Ordzhonikidze, military, air, and naval attache at the Soviet Embassy in Bulgaria.

In the afternoon talks were held at the Ministry of National Defense between Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo

and minister of national defense, and Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states.

Mladenov Visit to SFRY Approved

AU201757 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 19 Nov 87 p 7

[Editorial article: "Useful Dialogue"]

[Text] An active continuation of the Bulgarian-Yugoslav dialogue, a useful and businesslike talk—this is how we can sum up the just completed official visit paid by Petur Mladenov to our neighboring country, Yugoslavia, at the invitation Raif Dizdarevic, SFRY federal secretary of foreign affairs.

The detailed talks, which actually encompassed the whole range of bilateral relations, as well as the situation in the Balkans, in Europe, and the world, mapped out vast opportunities for bilateral relations, and demonstrated the identical nature, or similarity of the two countries' stands on topical international issues. The diplomatic leaders of our two socialist countries devoted particular attention to the problems of peace and security, to alleviating tension, and to halting the arms race. The two ministers expressed their high appreciation for the changes in Soviet-American relations, for the favorable impact of these changes on the atmosphere in Europe and the world, and through this evaluation they expressed our two peoples' wish to live in peace and understanding, they expressed the active approach of the two socialist countries on the main issues of our epoch. It was quite natural that they devoted attention to the all-European process, to the progress of the Vienna CSCE meeting, to problems of cooperation in all spheres of our ancient continent, for the development of which our two countries are making their specific contributions.

The opportunities of developing bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Balkans, the search for methods of intensifying mutual relations between the two neighboring peoples, the consolidation of security and mutual confidence—this range of questions naturally played a central role during the talks. It was stressed that the meeting of foreign ministers from Balkan countries, scheduled to take place in Belgrade at the beginning of 1988, is likely to create prerequisites for consolidating peace and security in the area, for the development of cooperation among Balkan countries. The topical character of the idea to transform our peninsula into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone was once more pointed out and high appreciation was expressed for the Bulgarian proposal on signing a Balkan treaty for environmental and ecological protection in the area.

At the Belgrade talks the development of bilateral relations was evaluated as successful. A readiness was expressed for these relations to develop even more on the basis of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, on the

basis of independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, and the inviolability of borders, on the basis of equal rights, mutual respect, mutual advantage, and noninterference in each other's domestic affairs. Our country attaches first-rate importance to relations with Yugoslavia—this is a soundly established and permanent line of policy. We are glad that the successes achieved to date in the development of bilateral relations are tangible and in accordance with the two countries' aspirations. The results of the recent Bulgarian-Yugoslav dialogue will undoubtedly contribute to an even more active search for new opportunities and forms of expanding economic and scientific-technical cooperation, of trade, cultural exchange, and contacts among people.

The meetings and talks between Petur Mladenov and the Yugoslav leaders proceeded in a constructive and open spirit, as one would expect between good friends. These will certainly give new impetus to the further development of Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations, which is in the interest of the peoples in our two socialist neighboring countries, in the interest of peace and progress in the Balkans and in Europe.

Ivanov Meets DPRK Foreign Minister

AU221717 Sofia BTA in English 1640 GMT 22 Nov 87

[Text] Sofia, Nov 22 (BTA)—Mr Kim Yong-nam, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, deputy chairman of the Administration Council and minister of foreign affairs of the DPRK, visited this country from November 20 through November 21, this year.

He had a meeting with Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria.

Press Agreement With Nicaragua

AU201917 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] Comrade Yordan Yotov, received Ernesto Garcia, director general of the Nicaragua NUEVA press agency and discussed with him opportunities for the future development of cooperation in information. The guest was briefed on the innovative processes taking place in our country and stemming from the decisions of the BCP Central Committee July plenum on restructuring in all fields of life. The increasing role of mass media in this revolutionary stage of our development was stressed during the talk, which was attended by Boyan Traykov, BTA chief director. A cooperation protocol for the period up to 1990 was signed between BTA and the Nicaragua NUEVA agency. A document on development of mutual relations was also signed with the Sofia Press news agency.

Exhibition on Turkish 'Genocide' Opens

AU201949 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] A documentary exhibition entitled: "Genocide" opened at the Sofia "Fatherland" hall tonight.

It was attended by leaders of sociopolitical and mass organizations, distinguished public figures, and numerous citizens.

Over 100 charts, photographic material, and documents, collected from official Turkish and European sources by the Sofia press news agency archives are describing the genocide against the non-Turkish population under the Ottoman empire and in contemporary Turkey.

Stefan Petrov, chief director of the Sofia press agency, delivered a speech at the opening in which he stressed that the exhibition represents an angry protest of honest people, journalists, scientists, and public figures, who showed the world the truth about the annihilation and assimilation of enslaved peoples under the Ottoman empire.

In closing his speech he pointed out that human common sense and the interests of good-neighborly relations require that the Ottoman criteria and ideas about the world should be overcome, and a true code of friendship, understanding, and cooperation among people in the Balkans, in Europe, and the world should be established.

Atanasov, Dascalescu View Pollution in Giurgiu

AU211801 Sofia BTA in English 1719 GMT 21 Nov 87

[Text] Giurgiu, Nov 21 (BTA corr.)—The first meeting of the special governmental Bulgaro-Romanian commission established in accordance with a top-level agreement, was held here today. The meeting was presided by Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, and by Mr Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of Romania's Government. The commission discussed questions in connection with the preparation of the programme for further deepening of specialization and cooperation in production with a view to promoting the economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Romania to a new stage. The commission specified the spheres for development of the economic cooperation between the two countries on a durable basis through the application of new forms, and coordinated a schedule for the work on the preparation of the programme.

The condition of the ecological situation in the Ruse-Giurgiu region was also examined. It was stressed that it is necessary to make efforts for acceleration of the implementation of the measures that have been agreed upon with a view to elimination of the reasons for the pollution with chlorine and chlorine derivatives from the Giurgiu Chemical Combined Works, and securing air purity in the region.

It was agreed that the government leaders will hold another meeting the end of December this year, in the city of Ruse.

A protocol on the talks and on the adopted decisions was signed.

Leaders Attend Municipal Conferences

AU201958 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 20 November carries brief reports on the accountability election conferences of the Mikhaylovgrad, Tolbukhin, and Kystendil municipal BCP organizations.

The Mikhaylovgrad constituent municipal conference was attended by Nacho Papazov, chairman of the BCP Control-Auditing Commission, who made a statement "on certain main factors of the present progress in the country's restructuring process." Trifon Pashov, first secretary of the Mikhaylovgrad Oblast BCP Committee also attended.

Krasimir Voykov was elected first secretary of the Mikhaylovgrad Municipal BCP Committee.

The Tolbukhin municipal party organization was held in a "spirit of criticism and self-criticism." It was attended by Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, who in his statement "emphasized the need for a consistent application of a political approach in the management of socioeconomic processes."

Dimitur Dimitrov, first secretary of the Varna Oblast BCP Committee, was also among those present.

Petur Nikov, former secretary of the Tolbukhin Okrug BCP Committee, was elected first secretary of the Tolbukhin Municipal BCP Committee.

The Kyustendil municipal party organization held its first accountability-election conference. It was attended by Dimitur Stanishev, BCP Central Committee secretary, who "dwelled on the basic tasks along the path of restructuring and innovation, stemming from the BCP Central Committee July and November plenums." Dimitur Milenkov was elected first secretary of the Kyustendil Municipal BCP Committee.

Leaders' Appearances 15-21 November

AU212112 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and the Bulgarian Telegraph Agency during the monitoring period from 15 to 21 November report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, visited the national youth creativity exhibition in Plovdiv on

15 November (Sofia BTA in English 1805 GMT 15 Nov 87). In Sofia on 16 November Zhivkov received FRG Economy Minister Martin Bangemann (Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 16 Nov 87). He received the British publisher Robert Maxwell in Sofia on 18 November (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Nov 87). In Sofia on the same day he received Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov (Sofia BTA in English 1646 GMT 18 Nov 87).

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the departing Italian and Greek ambassadors in Sofia on 16 November (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 16 Nov 87). In Sofia on the same day Atanasov received Martin Bangemann, minister of the economy of the FRG (Sofia BTA in English 1841 GMT 16 Nov 87). On 18 November Atanasov received Yuriy Volmer, USSR minister of the maritime fleet (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Nov 87).

Chudomir Aleksandrov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received Spanish Communist Party leader Gerardo Iglesias in Sofia on 18 November (Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 18 Nov 87).

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, also received the Spanish communist leader Iglesias in Sofia on 18 November (Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 18 Nov 87).

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, met Viktor Kulikov, the Warsaw Pact commander in chief, at Sofia airport on 18 November (Sofia BTA in English 1134 GMT 18 Nov 87) and had talks with Kulikov on the same day (Sofia *Narodna Armiya* in Bulgarian 19 Nov 87 p 1).

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met an FRG parliamentary delegation headed by Hermann Unlandt in Sofia on 16 November (Sofia BTA in English 1648 GMT 16 Nov 87).

Pencho Kubadinski, member of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the National Front National Council, attended the accountability-election meeting of the municipal party organization in Razgrad on 18 November (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Nov 87). Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, departed on a visit to the SFRY on 16 November (Sofia BTA in English 0816 GMT 16 Nov 87). He returned to Sofia from his visit to the SFRY on 17 November (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 17 Nov 87).

Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, received an FRG Bundestag delegation led by Hermann Unlandt in Sofia on 19 November (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 19 Nov 87).

Stoyan Markov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, attended an accountability-election meeting of the municipal party organization in Vidin on 18 November (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Nov 87).

Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, attended the accountability-election meeting of the BCP organization in Khaskovo (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Nov 87).

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of culture, science, and education, received Nikolay Chetverikov, chairman of the All-Union Copyright Agency, in Sofia on 18 November (Sofia *Rabotnichesko Delo* in Bulgarian 19 Nov 87 p 2). On 19 November Yordanov attended the accountability-election meeting of the municipal BCP organization in Pazardzhik (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Nov 87).

Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended an accountability-election meeting of the

municipal party organization in Stanke Dimitrov on 17 November (Sofia *Rabotnichesko Delo* in Bulgarian 17 Nov 87 p 6).

Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received visiting CPCZ working group during their visit to Bulgaria from 9 through 13 November (Sofia *Rabotnichesko Delo* in Bulgarian 14 Nov 87 p 2). Mikhaylov attended an accountability-election meeting of the municipal party organization in Smolyan on 18 November (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Nov 87). On 20 November Mikhaylov attended the accountability-election meeting of the municipal party organization in Tolbukhin (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Nov 87).

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, attended an accountability-election meeting of the municipal party organization in Kazanluk on 18 November (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Nov 87). On 20 November Stanishev attended the accountability-election meeting of the municipal BCP organization in Kyustendil (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 20 Nov 87).

Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received a visiting working group from the Workers Party of Korea during their visit to Bulgaria from 7 through 13 November (Sofia *Rabotnichesko Delo* in Bulgarian 14 Nov 87 p 2). On 19 November Tsanov attended the accountability-election meeting of the municipal BCP organization in Silistra (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Nov 87).

Shultz-Shevardnadze Meeting Viewed

LD202145 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Commentary by "our editor" Antonin Kostka; from the "Magazine" program]

[Text] To all appearances, everything is in apple pie order: The heads of both delegations to the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space weapons left the latest meeting in Geneva in good heart and full of optimism with a semi-official assurance that the text of the agreement on eliminating medium-range and operational-tactical missiles would be ready in time to be signed at the summit; the diplomatic preparations for the summit itself are in full swing; a start has also been made on a nuclear test ban; and in a couple of days talks will resume on banning and eliminating chemical weapons and their production facilities. So why this unscheduled meeting, the eighth one this year, by the way, between Ministers Shevardnadze and Shultz?

Well, the general answer might be that if the summit is to be as productive as possible, a number of issues have yet to be resolved or at least the groundwork for their solution has to be done. First and foremost, this applies to the treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles, because so far—and this was the position following the recently ended Geneva meeting between the heads of the delegations which are putting the final touches to the 120-page text of the agreement—the reports issued by both sides contain phrases reading something like this: a number of difficulties still remain to be surmounted, certain details still need to be worked out, and so forth.

Let us try to expand on this a little: One of these details, for example, is the issue of verification, because so far there is no agreement on how this should be carried out so that the vital on-site inspections can be made at short notice—these are referred to as instant challenge inspections [prepadovka]—without such challenge inspections being abused to glean espionage-type information. The United States for example, is pushing for instant challenge inspections even at missile sites and production facilities not covered within the treaty—that is to say other than medium-range missile facilities—yet itself at the same time refuses its own nuclear warheads for third countries' missiles, such as the West German Bundeswehr's Pershings.

Another cause of disagreement is the U.S. preference for limiting the notion of elimination only to taking away the engines and warheads and their associated electronics, and only then sending what is left to the junkyard. Another detail is the precise date for taking these missiles out of commission, because the elimination process itself will take several years, and 3 years is in fact the time period referred to most often. The Soviet Union insists on making the missiles unusable by dismantling the relevant parts immediately after the treaty is signed while the United States, on the other hand, is holding out

for taking them out of commission stage by stage commensurately with the elimination process; in other words, until the treaty is ratified everything will remain the way it is, including the emergency drills and constant states of alert, meaning that until the elimination process is complete, there would still be some missiles ready for use, with the result that the danger would last at least another 3 years.

If we add to this the intensive NATO preparations to compensate for the missiles to be eliminated, the stiff opposition among U.S. hawks to the very notion of such a treaty, and last but not least, the acceleration of the space weapons plans which also represent a stumbling block in another area of nuclear missile disarmament, it is clear that both ministers have more than enough on their plates to discuss. Their forthcoming meeting therefore will not be just a polite formality, but an important stage in the effort to achieve a safer world. The short notice at which this new meeting has been arranged indubitably shows that both sides are interested in creating the best possible conditions for the success of the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit, and that can only be an optimistic sign.

Further Commentary

LD210039 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak
1730 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] It has been announced officially in Moscow today that the Soviet and U.S. foreign ministers, Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz, will meet again next Monday, this time in Geneva. Michal Berko comments:

[Berko] Between January and October this year Soviet-U.S. relations have gone through such dramatic stages that not many people are surprised that another—the fourth meeting between the two foreign ministers this year—is to take place. This testifies once again to the complexity and complications, not only of mutual relations, but above all of the problems that apparently must be tackled despite the fundamental agreement to liquidate merely three percent of their nuclear arsenals. Only three percent are to be liquidated and yet how much effort has been made already, how much time has been spent in negotiations, which in themselves would not be an obstacle. However, what has been of greatest concern are the constant voices and campaigns concerning these negotiations within NATO circles on both sides of the Atlantic. After previous words of approval, views of the opponents of this agreement both in the United States and Western Europe have recently been surfacing. A fresh example of this came at the meeting of the North Atlantic Council held this week in Istanbul, where the alleged drawbacks of this agreement for the security of Western Europe was openly pointed out. This supposedly has to be balanced and compensated for by new measures in both nuclear and conventional weapons. Manfred Woerner, the West German Defense minister, attacked equally sharply the elimination of medium and shorter-range missiles as a step allegedly threatening

FRG security. The U.S. proposals that, within the framework of the verification of the elimination of medium-range missiles, the USSR permit inspection of strategic missile forces can also be described as a new attempt to torpedo the results set out in the text of the agreement.

Remarks to journalists by certain White House officials about the Soviet Union are conspicuous by their crudity and bad taste with the apparent intention to question its morality. Alexander Haig, a former U.S. secretary of state, spoke again with unprecedented brutality this week about the agreement now under preparation, which he alleges threatens Soviet humiliation of an aggression against Western Europe.

This means that the new meeting between Minister Shevardnadze and Secretary Shultz shows that total optimism would indeed be premature.

FRG's Genscher To Visit CSSR 25-27 Nov
LD230339 Prague CTK in English
1420 GMT 22 Nov 87

[Text] Prague Nov 22 (CTK)—West German Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher will pay a working visit to Czechoslovakia on November 25 to 27 at the invitation of Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek.

Murin Addresses UN Committee
LD202311 Prague CTK in English
2015 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] New York Nov 20 (CTK correspondent)—The question of a comprehensive system of international peace and security, the establishment of which has been proposed by the socialist countries at the U.N., arouses great response of all the U.N. members, Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Stefan Murin said here Friday at a debate in the Political and Security Committee of the 42d U.N. General Assembly session.

He pointed out that the preservation of international security in the present day world is a prior task for all states and the U.N.. The Socialist countries consistently struggle for the ensurance of security of all states on an equal basis, according to the conclusions of the recent session of the Warsaw Treaty foreign ministers in Prague, Stefan Murin said.

He stressed that the system is based on the reduction of armament and on disarmament, mainly in the nuclear sphere. One of the most urgent tasks is to avert the arms race in space.

CEMA Direct Production Links 'Problem'
AU201615 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
18 Nov 87 p 4

[Article by Engineer Vladimir Novacek, CSSR deputy minister of foreign trade: "What Experience Shows: On the Problem of Direct Production Links Within CEMA"]

[Excerpts] Direct links among production, development, research, and other organizations of CEMA member countries are expected to help overcome the current unsatisfactory situation in exploiting the advantages of international scientific-technical and production cooperation by speeding up scientific-technical progress and innovation cycles in production, improving the quality of specialized manufactures, and introducing efficient economies of scale. [passage omitted]

However, experience from this area thus far, albeit short and limited, shows that many Czechoslovak economic organizations ignore this production-technological motivation of direct links, regarding them instead as some sort of a "bazaar" for the fortuitous exchange of various "surplus articles" and the solution of short-term problems in material-technical supplies. Given this approach, there is a danger that direct links will degenerate into a primitive exchange in kind of things for which the participants no longer have any use, depending on their momentary interests, and that they will not live up to the basic aims expected from their introduction. [passage omitted]

Afghan Delegation Arrives For Official Visit
AU201354 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK)—A delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan headed by Najmuddin Kawiani member of the party Politburo and Central Committee secretary, has arrived in the CSSR for a working visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee. The delegation was welcomed at Prague Ruzyně Airport by Michal Stefanak, head of a CPCZ Central Committee department.

Indra-Led Delegation Departs for India
LD221521 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1000 GMT 22 Nov 87

[Text] A Czechoslovak Federal Assembly delegation headed by its chairman, Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, left by air today for an official visit to India. The visit is taking place at the invitation of the chairmen of the upper and lower houses of the Indian parliament.

Arrives 22 Nov

LD230337 Prague CTK in English
1710 GMT 22 Nov 87

[Text] New Delhi Nov 22 (CTK correspondent)—A delegation of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly led by its chairman Alois Indra, Communist Party Presidium member, arrived here today for a five-day official visit to India.

The delegation was met at the airport by Balram Jhakar, speaker of the House of the People of Indian Parliament.

State-Church Controversy Discussed

AU201258 Vienna Domestic Service in German
1100 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Barbara Coudenrove-Kalergi report]

[Text] The funeral of late Bishop Julius Gabris was again an impressive manifestation of belief of the Slovak Catholics, but state and church differ with regard to his successor. Although the Church has a candidate for the provisional leadership of the diocese—he was elected more or less unanimously by the local clergy—but the state authorities say no. Thus, the Vatican delegation returned to Rome after the funeral without having held talks at a higher level.

After Bishop Gabris' death, now 9 of 13 CSSR dioceses have no bishop. Bishop Gabris had been ill for years, but he had always kept his distance from the Pacem in Terris priests' organization, which is loyal to the regime, and had never hidden his loyalty to the Pope.

At the funeral in the historic Cathedral of St John the Baptist in Trnava, Archbishop Silvestrini, the Vatican's foreign minister, announced Gabris' appointment to archbishop in memoriam. The representatives of the Vatican and, above all, the aged Cardinal Tomasek of Prague received stormy ovations from the 15,000 people who attended the funeral. When, however, Bishop Jozef Feranec, chairman of the Slovak Bishops' Conference, who is loyal to the regime, spoke, the church was deadly quiet.

Appointing a successor for the Trnava diocese is particularly important because it is the seat of the Slovak Church province. Of course, bishops are appointed by the Pope, but according to the new ecclesiastical law, after the death or resignation of a bishop the diocese administrator—that is, the provisional head—is no longer elected by the chapter of the cathedral but by a larger body, the so-called (Collegium Consultorum). In Slovakia, this body unanimously decided in favor of Jan Sokol, a priest who is highly renowned among the believers.

The authorities, however, insist on holding the elections among the chapter—as in the past—where the state has more influence.

The old question of whether the Church in the CSSR is to follow the pope or the state has become even more important now after the death of the highest-ranking Slovak bishop. So far, the state authorities have relied on the fact that the bishops who are trusted by Rome will soon die out and that administrators suitable to the regime will gradually take over the dioceses.

The believers' new self-awareness makes this path increasingly difficult. At every opportunity—as now in Trnava—they show that they want bishops whom they can trust. There is, however, only one of these bishops left: Cardinal Tomasek, primate and archbishop of Prague. But he is 83 years old.

Portuguese CP Leader Cunhal Arrives
*LD230444 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1911 GMT 22 Nov 87*

[Text] Berlin, 22 Nov (ADN)—Portuguese Communist Party [PCP] General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal arrived in Berlin on Sunday for an official visit to the GDR lasting several days. His visit is at the invitation of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary.

Alvaro Cunhal is accompanied by Albano Nunes, member of the Central Committee and head of the International Relations Department of the PCP.

The guests were cordially welcomed in Berlin by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and SED Central Committee secretary and Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and head of the International Relations Department of the Central Committee.

Received by Honecker

*LD231016 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0920 GMT 23 Nov 87*

[Text] Berlin, 23 Nov (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, received this morning Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, for an exchange of views at the Central Committee building in Berlin.

Honecker Receives Outgoing Portuguese Envoy
*LD201930 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1326 GMT 20 Nov 87*

[Text] Berlin, 20 Nov (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today received Dr Antonio Augusto Henrique de Almeida Coelho-Lopes, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Portuguese Republic, for his farewell visit. Erich Honecker paid tribute to the progress in the relations between the GDR and the Portuguese Republic and stressed interest in the all-around deepening of cooperation.

The partners in the talks stressed the far-reaching significance of the summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, at which an agreement is due to be concluded on eliminating medium-range nuclear missiles. They agreed that this first step toward nuclear disarmament must be followed by further agreements in other areas.

Erich Honecker stressed that the key question for averting the danger of a nuclear catastrophe is to reduce strategic offensive weapons and prevent the stationing of weapons in space. The GDR will continue to actively contribute toward the implementation of the Warsaw Pact states peace program, as further developed and supplemented by new elements at the latest summit in Berlin.

Erich Honecker thanked ambassador Coelho-Lopes for his work as ambassador and doyen of the diplomatic corps accredited in the GDR and asked him to convey cordial greetings to President Soares and Premier Cavaco Silva.

Kessler on Defensive Character of Warsaw Pact
*LD201439 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1114 GMT 20 Nov 87*

[Text] Erfurt, 20 Nov (ADN)—The function of socialist military power consists of securing peace and guaranteeing the capability for self-defense of the socialist states at all times, by means of a high degree of fighting power and combat readiness. This class assignment was the humanistic duty of the members of the socialist Armed Forces of the GDR. This statement was made by GDR Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler today at an event in Sonderhausen (Erfurt Area). He said: "The prevention of a new world war, of a nuclear war, has been the main aim, the supreme concern of the security and defense policy of the Warsaw Pact states since the alliance was formed. The defensive character of our military doctrine results from the essence of socialism itself."

Protecting peace was described by Army General Kessler as the most urgent concern of every citizen, of every member of the National People's Army, and of the protective and security organs of the GDR. This end was also served by the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact. "No member state of our alliance cherishes intentions of conquest against other countries, nor the aim of oppressing, enslaving, or even wiping out another people, another nation, or another race," the GDR defense minister stressed.

Hager, SED Delegation Review Relations
*LD202200 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1607 GMT 20 Nov 87*

[Text] Berlin, 20 Nov (ADN)—Kurt Hager, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, on Friday talked with Volker Hauff, SPD party executive member and SDP Bundestag group deputy chairman, as well as the SDP Bundestag deputies accompanying him. The conversation took place in an open and constructive atmosphere. The two parties stressed the great importance of the level achieved in relations between the GDR and the FRG for securing peace, the process of detente, and East-West dialogue. The visit by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, to the FRG has continuing positive effects and has contributed to improving the political climate between East and West and to building confidence in the heart of Europe.

It is now a matter of adhering to the treaty regulations and agreements made in the spirit of the joint communiqué signed by Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl, and

of filling them with meaning. This serves the interests of good-neighborliness, is in the interest of the two states, and gives continuity and stability to bilateral relations.

For improving the international situation, the parties to the conversation stated, it is vital to end the arms race and to bring about a change toward disarmament. Kurt Hager and Volker Hauff welcomed in this connection the agreement in principle between the USSR and the United States concerning the conclusion of an accord on the worldwide elimination of their nuclear medium-range missiles, which the two German states had helped to achieve. This initial significant step toward reducing nuclear arsenals must be followed by others in order to halt the arms race spiral and to set the dynamics of disarmament in motion. It is a question of facilitating the start of an irreversible process of supervised [kontrolliert] disarmament in the nuclear, chemical, and conventional spheres. With their joint proposal for the creation of a chemical weapons-free zone and a nuclear weapons-free corridor in central Europe, on the border between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the SED and the SPD had seized on a practicable initiative for regional solutions.

The two parties expressed satisfaction about the level achieved and prospects for SED-SPD relations. The document elaborated by representatives of the two parties "The Battle of Ideologies and Joint Security" is aimed at joint efforts by Communists and Social Democrats for securing peace and partnership in security. What is aimed for is a form of debate between the two social systems which—as stated in the document—"is characterized by peaceful competition, force-free argument about all political and ideological contradictions, and cooperation to mutual benefit and advantage." The parties, who paid tribute to the historic significance of the document, support the continuation of discussion between the two parties and practical measures, as a result of which differing ideological viewpoints and philosophical opinions might coexist.

Taking part in the talk was Gunter Rettner, Central Committee candidate member and department director in the SED Central Committee. In the entourage of Volker Hauff were members of the SPD Bundestag group Hans Buechler, Michael Mueller, Franz Muentefering, and adviser Reinhard Stoermer.

Felfe Opens Agricultural Talks with FRG
*LD231049 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1816 GMT 22 Nov 87*

[Text] Munich, 22 Nov ADN—The further development of cooperation between the two German states, particularly in the area of agriculture, forestry, and food processing, was at the center of talks held in Munich today by Werner Felfe, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the SED and member of the GDR Council of State, with Ignaz Kiechle, the federal minister for agriculture, food and forestry. Werner Felfe

arrived on the same day for a 5-day visit to the FRG at the invitation of Minister Kiechle, which will take him to Bonn and Frankfurt-am-Main.

Werner Felfe stated that the goal of his visit was to further continue and extend the political dialogue with all forces of goodwill held during Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG. In this the issues would have great significance arising from the commitment by both German states, which was reasserted in the joint communique, to see to it that never again would war emanate from German soil.

Werner Felfe stressed that greater security and peace could not be brought about by arming but only by cooperation between states, regardless of their social order, and the communique agreed on 8 September 1987 also offered a good basis for this. This was also in accordance with the basic treaty. The GDR would, as it had so far, fulfill the jointly laid down precepts and commitments made step-by-step. The basic principle, that further progress was possible in relations between the two states, provided that both sides allowed themselves to be led by realism and good will, was also valid for this visit.

Minister Kiechle agreed with Werner Felfe. He emphasized that Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG had been a very important event. Both German states bore a particular responsibility in the current process of detente and should actively work together on it by means of constructive cooperation. The talks with Werner Felfe, Ignaz Kiechle told journalists, had resulted in broad agreement on many issues.

Both sides welcomed the upcoming summit between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and U.S. President Ronald Reagan and the envisaged conclusion of an agreement between the United States of America and the USSR on the double-zero option on medium-range missiles.

Werner Felfe and Ignaz Kiechle stressed that cooperation on agriculture between both states since the first meeting in the FRG in Fall 1985 had developed well and was of use to both sides. Future projects might consist of the continuation and expansion of the exchange of trainees, which had been carried out for the first time this year and had proven itself, and the deepening of scientific and technical cooperation in agriculture and forestry, as well as in the area of environmental protection, principally the preservation of forests. The joint communique was a good basis for this intention.

Werner Felfe invited Minister Kiechle to visit the GDR. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

In the evening Ignaz Kiechle held a dinner in honor of his guest.

Werner Felfe is accompanied by Fritz Dallmann, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Peasants' Mutual Aid Association (VDGB), and Heinz Simon, GDR deputy minister for agriculture, forestry, and food processing. Taking part in the talks as well was Ambassador Ewald Moldt, the head of the GDR permanent mission to the FRG.

On his arrival Werner Felfe made a statement, in which he thanked Ignaz Kiechle for his friendly invitation. He was looking forward with great anticipation to his talks with representatives of the political parties in Bonn and visiting "Agri-Tehnica 87" as well as agricultural sites. Werner Felfe said on the upcoming summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan that the GDR welcomed the coming about of this meeting and considered it necessary, as is stressed in the joint communique, to promote further steps in the direction of disarmament.

FRG Lower Saxony Official Ends Visit

LD201917 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1118 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 20 Nov ADN—At the conclusion of a 4-day information-gathering visit to the GDR, Heinrich Juergens, minister of Federal and European Affairs of the FRG state of Lower Saxony, today assessed his talks as constructive and useful. Speaking to the international press, the chairman of the Lower Saxony regional FDP association expressly agreed with Erich Honecker's statement that relations between the two German states are good. The Minister stated that he had wished to use his visit to show Lower Saxony's particular interest in the further development of relations with the GDR, which had progressed in an encouraging manner in recent years.

Director of PRC Daily Holds Talks

LD192144 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1503 GMT 19 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 19 Nov (ADN)—Qian Liren, director of *Renmin Ribao*, the central organ of the Communist Party of China, and member of the CPC Central Committee, is currently in the GDR for an exchange of views and experiences at the invitation of *Neues Deutschland*. The PRC guest was received today for a talk by Joachim Herrmann, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee. During the talk, Joachim Herrmann outlined the GDR's domestic and foreign policy and the decisions of the 11th SED Congress, which aim at securing the welfare of the people and preserving peace.

Qian Liren reported on the results of the recent 13th CPC Congress. The two sides expressed satisfaction that relations between the two parties and states and cooperation between the central organs of the two parties are continuing to be strengthened and deepened.

The meeting was attended by Herbert Naumann, editor-in-chief of *Neues Deutschland* and member of the SED Central Committee, and Ma Xusheng, ambassador of the PRC in the GDR.

Earlier, the guests from the PRC visited Potsdam and Dresden. They familiarized themselves with places of interest and had talks at the parent-enterprise of the Robotron combine. There was a lively exchange of opinions in Berlin at the Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management in the SED Central Committee.

Fischer Meets Luxembourg Politicians

AU191517 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 18 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [17 November] GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer received Jean-Jacques Kasel, political director in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, for a talk.

Both politicians paid tribute to the positive and unproblematic development of the relations between the GDR and Luxembourg. They affirmed their governments' willingness to expand cooperation which serves the interests of the two states and peoples.

Oskar Fischer and Jean-Jacques Kasel agreed to continue the political dialogue at all levels in the interest of safeguarding peace, and to do everything to promote effective steps for arms limitation and disarmament. They welcomed the planned summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, where an agreement on the elimination of USSR and U.S. medium-range nuclear weapons is to be concluded and negotiations on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons and on the strengthening of the ABM Treaty are to be held.

Jean-Jacques Kasel expressed Luxembourg's great interest in overall disarmament agreements.

Oskar Fischer stressed that the current chance has to be seized in order to really start with disarmament and to proceed from zero-option to zero-option with regard to all types of arms, while observing the principle of equality and equal security. This corresponds to the hopes and desires of the peoples. For this purpose, proposals from the Warsaw Pact states that also include appropriate verification measures are on the table.

Jean-Jacques Kasel stayed in Berlin for political consultations with GDR Deputy Foreign Minister Kurt Nier.

Honecker Greets Leipzig Film Festival

LD212026 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1423 GMT 21 Nov 87

[Excerpt] Leipzig, 21 Nov 87 ADN—The competition at the 30th International Leipzig Documentary and Short Film Week for the Cinema and Television began Saturday. Under the slogan "Films of the World—for the

Peace of the World," 67 films from 29 countries. Berlin (West), and the PLO are taking part in the international competition. The warmly welcomed guests at the 'Capitol' cinema included Kurt Hager and Joachim Herrmann, Politburo members and SED Central Committee Secretaries. The participants received with great applause the greetings address from the SED Central Committee, signed by Erich Honecker, to this year's international gathering of documentary film makers.

Over 1,000 guests from 67 countries and representatives of national and international organizations have come to Leipzig for the festival. [passage omitted]

LD221354 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 0300 GMT 21 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 21 Nov ADN—"On the basis of our conviction that joint action for peace is the supreme precept of our time, we express our high regard for film and television work which through its inherent vividness carries the ideas of peace and humanism, of social progress and social justice, of understanding between the peoples and the building of trust between states with different social orders into the hearts and minds of millions of people." This is noted in a greetings message from the SED Central Committee to the 30th International Leipzig Documentary and Short Film Week.

For the 30th time, dedicated documentary film-makers and television journalists from all over the world were answering the call of the Leipzig festival with its motto "Films of the world—for the peace of the world," says the message signed by Erich Honecker. The festival was taking place at a time when decisions of the greatest significance for the fate of mankind were in store for world affairs. "We welcome the summit agreed upon between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan for 7 December in Washington, at which an agreement on a double-zero solution for medium-range nuclear missiles is due to be concluded and a reduction in strategic offensive weapons and a strengthening of the ABM treaty are to be further discussed." Although the dangers are far from being banished, a start to disarmament is giving powerful impetus to the worldwide peace movement. This would certainly also give new confidence to this year's Leipzig film week.

Students Protest Reform Referendum

AU211605 Paris AFP in English 0212 GMT 21 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 21 (AFP)—Seven students in the southeastern city of Lublin attracted a crowd of some 4,000 people on Friday when they carried out the first-ever public protest against a planned referendum on economic reform measures, an independent source said here.

The students, linked to the banned Confederation for an Independent Poland, called for a boycott of the November 29 poll, which is being held to seek public approval of austerity measures including price hikes averaging 40 percent.

Banners read: "We do not vote for price rises", and "We will not be had again."

The protesters and the crowd dispersed after 30 minutes, before a column of riot-squad vehicles drew up.

Politburo Statement on Magdeburg Report

AU201606 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 18 Nov 87 pp 2,3

["Statement by the SED Central Committee Politburo on the report by the Magdeburg SED Bezirk leadership on experiences concerning leadership activities in implementing the 11th SED Congress resolutions designed to realize the housing program"]

[Text] The Magdeburg SED Bezirk leadership is purposefully organizing the struggle to implement the 11th SED Congress decisions and is consistently and steadily ensuring the realization of the housing program as the core of the party's social policy.

Under the leadership of the bezirk party organization, the construction workers in the bezirk and kreis-administered construction sector have decisively contributed to creating good conditions in the Magdeburg Bezirk for solving the housing issue as a social problem by 1990. The plan tasks for the comprehensive construction of apartments have been fulfilled and overfulfilled for many years through high performance increases.

In the period between 1971 and the end of October 1987, for example, 226,000 apartments including the pertaining social facilities have been newly constructed or modernized in the bezirk. In this way housing conditions for 678,000 citizens have been improved. By observing and paying attention to the unity of new construction and preservation of the existing building stock, coupled with a housing policy aimed at the efficient use of the available living space, essential progress was made. In addition to that, all construction tasks designed to give the GDR capital Berlin a respectable look, which were assigned to the bezirk, were realized in a politically responsible manner. This is also true for the planned achievements of the locally administered construction sector for investment projects in industry.

The implementation of the party's economic strategy in its unity of economic and social policy has always been an incentive for the construction workers to increase the efficiency and quality of construction even more decisively through exemplary initiatives and comprehensive intensification. In this way they also express thanks to the SED Central Committee and its general secretary

Erich Honecker and vigorously support the policy of the party of the workers class aimed consistently at the well-being of the people and at safeguarding peace.

In the Magdeburg Bezirk valuable experience was gained with regard to the party's leadership activities in the successful implementation of the housing program. This concerns primarily the following:

—In the party and work collectives of the construction sector, with all leaders being included, the implementation of the resolutions of the party leadership and the fulfillment of the plan tasks were made the cardinal rule. Emphasis is to be placed on developing clear attitudes with regard to assuming one's responsibility and linking the initiative-rich approach to the implementation of the plan in the housing sector closely with work based on a well-founded concept in order to create all preconditions for highly efficient construction work, particularly with regard to a lead in science and technology in urban planning and the shaping of towns and villages.

—Great attention is to be devoted to steadily strengthening the fighting strength of the basic organizations in the locally administered construction sector and to enabling the communists to carry out exemplary work in the work collectives in the struggle for high performances in fulfilling the plan tasks. Qualified cadres who are loyal to the party's policy and maintain trusting relations with the construction workers, and who have great political, expert, and organizational skills, including foremen and brigadiers, are to be developed and trained for all levels of performance.

—In the struggle to implement the housing program, measures are to be taken that the Bezirk Council assumes and guarantees responsibility in a comprehensive manner, that all Council Departments as well as the City and Kreis Councils are carrying out the tasks to be fulfilled by them in an exact manner in the entire process of preparing and implementing the housing program. This is a basic condition for the great continuity in the construction sector and the application of cyclical and continuous production [Takt- und Fließfertigung]. In this way the reliable realization of the planned service values is to be ensured while strictly observing the stipulated expenditure and remaining within the limits of the material and financial funds.

—The performance comparison strictly organized on the basis of GDR's top values makes it possible to thoroughly analyze the reasons for above-average performances and shortfalls in fulfilling the plan tasks and to ensure broad application of the most advanced experiences. This contributes essentially to increasing labor productivity, to lowering construction expenditure, and to shortening construction times.

In the further implementation of the 11th SED Congress resolutions, the SED Central Committee Politburo directs the attention of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership to the following focal points:

Further Development of Militant Atmosphere in Collectives [subhead]

1. The level and the efficiency of ideopolitical work with all working people in the construction sector, particularly on the construction sites, aimed at offensively explaining our party's domestic and foreign policy, is to be further increased. In keeping with the natural interest of the construction workers that what they have built through hard work must not be destroyed in a nuclear inferno, the determination of all construction workers to making an important contribution to the further comprehensive strengthening of the GDR and of peace is to be consolidated.

On the basis of the impressive results achieved so far in the construction sector, it is a question of strengthening confidence in one's own potential and of creating the awareness that the complete implementation of the housing program by 1990 still requires the greatest efforts of all party and work collectives. All communists, state leaders, trade union representatives, and youth functionaries are to be enabled to conduct convincing political talks with construction workers. This includes seeing to it that an optimistic militant atmosphere and high performances are created daily in the collectives and that professional pride, particularly among young construction workers, is further developed.

Ideopolitical work must contribute to an even larger degree to making exemplary initiatives such as that of the construction site collective, the cycle line 43 [Taktstrasse] of the Magdeburg Housing Construction Combine, in which the slogan "Working Time is Performance Time" is consistently being implemented, to a matter of all construction collectives in the bezirk, so as to fulfill the planned construction tasks at the lowest possible expenditure and in the highest possible quality.

The bezirk leadership should increase its efforts in seeing to it that all ideological, organizational, and material conditions for high daily performances are created until the last day of the year and that further initiatives are developed to secure the scheduled performance increase in all construction enterprises in 1988, particularly in the road and underground construction combine.

Progress in Construction Requires High Level of Performance [subhead]

2. In the further implementation of the 2 June 1987 Politburo resolution on the most efficient economic and sociopolitical implementation of the housing program in the 1986-90 period, the state leadership activity is to be

specified in such a way that in all areas of the local construction sector the standards of the economic strategy adopted by the 11th Party Congress are taken as a basis.

At the same time it is a matter of making the struggle for top values a firm component of socialist competition, which is to be directed toward increased labor productivity and the strict observance of the stipulated expenditure.

Making the thorough preparation of all sites, ranging from projecting work to the technical preparation of urban sites, the main concern of leaders and party organizations in the state organs and construction combines and enterprises, is a decisive precondition for progress in construction work.

Strict party control is to be exercised over the implementation of the quality assurance program so as to guarantee reliable high-quality workmanship in the construction sector at all times which includes a pleasant architectural appearance of new and renovated residential areas as well as good functioning and solid design. Radical waste reduction and the elimination of subsequent work are to be achieved.

With this goal in mind, the initiative of faultless hand-over from one craft to another, particularly in the extension of buildings, is to be developed into a broad mass movement in the Magdeburg Bezirk. In this connection it is a question of exploiting inner reserves to a greater extent which result from the reduction of costs and the elimination of losses in working time, from increased shift work, improved maintenance of technical equipment, and more order and safety on the sites. Special importance is to be attributed to the management of the entire site preparation, particularly of site organization.

The leading bezirk party organs should continue to exercise strict control, seeing to it that higher demands on performance is always coupled with an improvement in the working and living conditions of the construction workers, that attention is paid to their personal needs and family problems, and that purposeful work aimed at forming stable regular teams, particularly in kreis construction enterprises, is continued.

In this spirit, the preparation and implementation of the militant program of the basic organizations for 1988, the decisive year of the 5-year plan, is to be specified.

By consistently proceeding on the path toward developing the centrally and locally administered building material industry, and by opening up regional building material reserves, the bezirk's contribution to improving the supply of the housing construction sector, of the housing construction economy, and of the population with

bricks, sanitary ceramics, insulation materials, concrete products, roofing felts, and other building materials from its own means is to be increased.

Top Performances in Close Connection With Science [subhead]

3. The significant scientific-technological potential of the locally administered construction sector, including scientific cooperation with the GDR Building Academy, the Magdeburg Technical University, and other scientific institutions, is to be directed to a larger extent at realizing the planned tasks of the comprehensive housing construction at the most favorable ratio between expenditure and result as well as with high sociopolitical efficiency and at creating the necessary lead for future tasks.

It is necessary to apply the existing scientific-technological results more quickly in production and to develop in-house production of rationalization means in the combines and enterprises in the construction sector at a more rapid pace both regarding quality and quantity. Increased rationalization assistance is to be given to cooperative and private building companies. The good results that have been obtained in regional rationalization are to be used still more purposefully in opening up reserves.

On the basis of scientific-technological top performances displayed at the GDR Building Exhibition and of such exemplary results as achieved in the development and introduction of the new WBS 70/M 86 building series, the exchange of experiences on the most efficient solutions in the comprehensive application of key technologies, particularly of CAD/CAM technology, must be more result-related and the standard of work is to be further increased at the same time in cooperation with innovators and FDJ youth research collectives.

The experiences of the Wernigerode Kreis, where all potentials and possibilities of the kreis-administered construction enterprises, including the private sector, were transformed into higher economic results on the basis of the uniform plan for science and technology, should be applied on a broad level. Shortfalls in the performance of technological lines and in the actual utilization of the basic assets are to be eliminated more rapidly. Help is to be primarily provided for kreis construction enterprises in Wolmirstedt, Osterbeck, and Schoenebeck.

Efficient Utilization of the Bezirk's Reserves [subhead]

4. All regional resources are to be utilized for the complete implementation of the housing program. On the basis of the conclusions drawn from the examination of all projects planned in the housing sector until 1990, the potentials and means provided for this sector are to be concentrated in those areas where the most urgent housing needs are to be met and where the highest

possible sociopolitical efficiency is ensured. Together with housing construction the development of productive forces is to be purposefully promoted.

In this spirit, the Bezirk Council should provide more support for the workers centers in Magdeburg, the town of Stendal, and those towns and villages where significant economic projects are to be realized.

The tasks of the bezirk should continue to be fulfilled consistently and the performance increase in the kreis-administered construction sector should be fully used for stepping up building repairs. Larger reserves are to be opened up through further specific utilization of the considerable facilities in the cooperative and private construction sector.

In accordance with the favorable experiences of the Haldensleben Kreis, the VEB Building Management is to be purposefully extended into a center of maintenance for building stock of all forms of property. In this connection, notably greater attention is to be attributed to the trusting cooperation with the house communities and tenants.

All social initiatives resulting from the qualitatively new possibilities of municipal contracts as well as the "Rebuild and Expand" FDJ drive and the achievements of the population in the "Join in" initiative are to be directed at the comprehensive implementation of the sociopolitical targets of the housing program.

The creation of the required material, financial, and organizational preconditions for the full development of the citizens' initiatives, including those who build their own houses, should constantly be taken into consideration by the state organs.

Solving the housing problem in the countryside and developing villages as centers of agricultural production and rural life still requires the full attention of the party and state organs.

On the basis of the experiences of the community of Schinna the village fashioning concepts must be made to agree with the development concepts of the production cooperations, and the increasing financial and material performances of the LPGs, horticultural producer cooperatives, state farms, and peasants' trade cooperatives must be employed with a greater social utility effect for housing construction, the maintenance of existing housing stocks, and for rural development. Building tasks must be solved in such a manner that the historic appearance of the villages is preserved and that any needless loss of agricultural land is avoided.

The bezirk leaderships should also purposefully continue on the road embarked upon of bringing to bear reserves for implementing the sociopolitical targets of the apartment construction program through enhancing the level of management of the existing apartments.

This requires a further strengthening of the housing policy departments by way of cadres, to more actively rope in the social forces, and to ensure in general a larger conceptual lead in the apartment policy work of the councils. The struggle for the implementation of the plans for the assignment of housing space that are tied to names must be waged more consistently. It is important to promote voluntary exchanges of apartments.

Animated, Flexible Party Group Work at the Building Sites [subhead]

5. Solving the demanding tasks in apartment construction requires a further strengthening of the fighting strength of the party organization and further enhancing their political-ideological influence in all builders' collectives.

This demands that the differentiated guidance of the basic party branches by the bezirk and kreis leaderships be further perfected and that an interesting internal party life be developed in every party collective, a life in which militant spirit, political responsibility, and exemplary activity of the communists are finding a constant expression.

While respecting the specific working conditions in the building industry the party leaderships should be more effectively helped in preparing and holding the membership meetings and the party study year at a high level every month. Work with the fighting strength analyses must be further improved in this spirit.

While taking specific situations into consideration, it is important to develop forms and methods of party work and work among the masses, which enlist all comrades in a suitable manner, to promote their quick reaction among the building site collectives, and to enable the communists in the leaderships of the mass organizations to explain the party's policy in a convincing manner, particularly among the trade union and youth collectives. Maximum attention must be particularly devoted to the animated and flexible work of the party groups, to the activities of the party activists at the building sites, and, first and foremost, to trustful individual work with the comrades.

The party influence must be purposefully enhanced through both, the winning over of the best construction workers, and the delegation of experienced comrades in the foremen's sections and brigades of the kreis building enterprises, the youth brigades, and in the sectors for research, planning, and technology of the combines and enterprises.

Krenz Addresses Trinwillershagen Deputies
LD202334 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1718 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] Rostock, 20 Nov (ADN)—The varied participation by GDR citizens in the management of the state and the economy is a determining characteristic of life in

socialism SED Politburo member Egon Krenz, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, said today. He spoke at a local political meeting with deputies of local representative bodies of the citizens of Trinwillershagen, Rostock Bezirk.

The successes achieved are strengthening the confidence in one's own strength, and activate the citizens' willingness to take on shared responsibility for solving public affairs, Krenz said. Citizen initiative and a policy close to the citizen both necessitate and influence each other.

The work of a deputy is, in the best sense of the word, socialist democracy in action, Egon Krenz emphasized. "Our understanding is to take the term democracy literally to mean the rule of the people. What counts is how concretely citizens are involved in solving social tasks, how committed they are to the common weal, how our party and all its allies, how the socialist state and all its organs repeatedly make the interests of the people the subject of their policy."

Egon Krenz pointed out that the worldwide affect of the GDR peace policy is based on its political stability and

economic strength. "There is, in the final analysis, no better productivity for peace than the highest labor productivity." Further territorial resources for a rise in output by the centrally managed combines and enterprises must be found. This includes the consistent realization of the house-building program in the territory, as well as the further promotion of the unity of rising production and the development of the village in the countryside, and the safeguarding of the well-functioning daily life in the cities and villages. The decisive basis for successful work by deputies and for work by local organs close to citizens, was and remains a close link with the electorate, political and factual knowledge, understanding, and consistency in dealing with the citizens, as well as strict adherence to the law.

Egon Krenz concluded: "The broad alliance of all parties and mass organizations, under the leadership of the SED, which has made our republic strong, is also today a fundamental precondition—no, an essential driving force, for the further successful shaping of an advanced socialist society in the GDR."

PRC Economic Talks End; Protocol Signed

*LD202238 Budapest MTI in English 1805 GMT
20 Nov 87*

[Text] Budapest, November 20 (MTI)—The 3rd session of the Hungarian-Chinese Economic, Commercial, and Technical and Scientific Cooperation Commission ended Friday in Budapest, with the signing of a protocol. The co-chairmen, Hungarian Minister of Finance Peter Medgyessy and Chinese Minister of Commerce Liu Yi, exchanged views on economic restructuring, an issue on the agenda in both countries.

They stated that bilateral economic and commercial relations have developed since the last session, but they still lag behind the opportunities in many areas. They particularly stressed that the visit of Zhao Ziyang, then acting general secretary of the Chinese Communist Party and prime minister, to Budapest in June, 1987, and the recent visit of Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, to Beijing are of outstanding importance in the further development of inter-state relations, and opened a new stage in economic cooperation.

Peter Medgyessy stressed that, alongside the traditional forms and in the interest of dynamically developing cooperation and goods exchange turnover between the two countries, new forms and even closer, direct cooperation is needed between the individual ministries and companies.

The leader of the Chinese delegation met Deputy Prime Minister Laszlo Marothy, president of the National Planning Office, and Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee. The members of the Chinese delegation held talks with leaders of the ministries of industry, agriculture and food, internal trade, and foreign trade.

Internal Trade Agreement Signed With USSR

*LD201920 Budapest MTI in English 1435 GMT
20 Nov 87*

[Text] Budapest, November 20 (MTI)—On Friday in Budapest Zoltan Juhar, Hungarian minister of internal trade, and Kondrat Terekh, Soviet minister of domestic trade, signed a protocol on Hungarian-Soviet exchange of assortment and technical and scientific cooperation in internal trade for 1988. The agreement envisages the exchange of 4,300 million forints worth of consumer articles including 900 million forints worth of goods exchanged by department stores and border regions. The Hungarian side is to import refrigerators, portable black-and-white TV sets, and household articles and supply such as car seat covers, household lamps and tinned vegetable and fruit.

Kondrat Terekh met Deputy Prime Minister Frigyes Berecz.

Satellite To Broadcast West European TV

*LD221726 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian
1830 GMT 21 Nov 87*

[Excerpts] During the night a rocket was launched in French Guyana, and one can say that this is the beginning of something entirely new in the sphere of television. Perhaps within a few months new television programs will appear in Europe and, naturally, here at home as well. Within a few years we shall be able to select from a previously undreamed of wealth of programs. Before going into the details, let us say right away: We welcome the competition. [passage omitted]

According to the plans, the satellite will broadcast 4 German-language television programs and 16 German radio programs. In the next few years, many more satellites are likely to follow this one, each with new television programs. The Hungarian viewers are, of course, interested first and foremost in whether Hungarian industry and commerce are prepared to receive these programs.

[Begin recording of unidentified official from the Ministry of Domestic Trade] We have made preparations to manufacture antennas and antenna connections. The parts which will have to be added to the television sets are basically available; however, it has not been decided as yet which system this satellite will broadcast with. The integrated circuits are not ready yet, either here or anywhere else in the world. As soon as a decision is made on the broadcasting system to be used, we shall be ready to manufacture and market the equipment. [end recording]

The official from the Ministry of Domestic Trade added that the Orion and Videoton firms are working on different projects. Orion is going to manufacture a separate unit for the television sets, while Videoton wants to manufacture television sets which incorporate the so-called decoder. This television set will cost an additional 8,000 to 10,000 forints.

Of course, this is not all: A parabolic dish is also required to receive these programs. There is also a need for an antenna connector. We can already produce dish antennas, but for the antenna rather a lot of imported components are needed to make antenna connectors. A complete system and the cost of installing it will cost at least 80,000 to 120,000 forints.

Though we shall have to wait a while yet for the new television programs, it is clear that Hungarian television will also be functioning under new conditions. We believe that we will have to fight harder for your attention. We will compete; and we hope that not only the use of the Hungarian language, but also a closer acquaintance with Hungarian affairs will help us in this. However, it will be you who will decide whether to watch us or others.

Szabo, Delegation Attend JCP Congress
LD230135 Budapest MTI in English 1744 GMT
22 Nov 87

[Text] Tokyo, November 22 (MTI)—On Sunday Istvan Szabo, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the National Council of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, arrived in Tokyo at the head of a delegation to attend the 18th congress of the Communist Party of Japan [JCP]. Istvan Szabo, accompanied by Jozsef Gyorke, deputy head of department of the HSWP Central Committee, and Zoltan Sudi, staff member of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP Central Committee, was welcomed at Narita Airport by Nyihara Soji, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, and Karoly Szarka, ambassador of Hungary to Japan. On Sunday Istvan Szabo met Tachiki Hiroshi, member of the Standing bureau of the Presidium of the CPJ Central Committee.

Consumer Goods Prices To Rise 1 Jan
LD211356 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
2100 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] As from 1 January, the price of 80 percent of consumer goods will change; of this, 75 percent will be price hikes. The latest issue of *Magyar Kozlony* publishes the price list of the Ministry of Domestic Trade. This reveals that the price of coal, gas, oil, and firewood will remain unchanged. Of building materials, home-produced concrete and reinforced concrete materials will be 17.5 percent, and imported ones 28 percent dearer.

Clothing and baby clothes will cost 123 percent more than at present; on the other hand, outer garments for adults will be cheaper by 10 percent on average.

The price of vegetable preserves will be reduced by 4 percent; on the other hand, the price of frozen food will increase by 10 percent. The price of home-produced margarine and cooking oil remains unchanged. The price of goods for diabetics will rise by 10-12 percent, of saccharine by 25-28.5 percent.

The price of fruit-based spirits, rum, champagne, and beer will not change. Alcohol-free beverages will, however, cost more than 20 percent more and mineral water 24 percent more.

The price of Hungarian cigarettes remains the same; Western import cigarettes will cost 5.5 percent more from 1 January.

Berez on Role of Ideology in Socialism
AU190921 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
14 Nov 87 p 3

[“Excerpts” from speech by Janos Berez, MSZMP Central Committee Secretary, at MSZMP Central Committee meeting in Budapest on 11 November: “Janos Berez—Our Ideology in A Changing World”]

[Text] The fact that, after many years, the Central Committee is again discussing the situation and tasks of ideological work as an independent subject shows in

itself the importance of our subject. This fact expresses the inevitability of renewal in this area too, as well as the party's readiness to take the initiative in this renewal and mobilize and coordinate all the intellectual forces that are active today in improving socialism in Hungary.

In our experiences ideology in economic and social construction can be both an encouraging and creative force and also a factor that disturbs and hinders development. Ideology can genuinely contribute to progress on the road of development if it encourages us to carry out acts aimed at the tasks of our age that can and should be solved; ideology can, however, also hinder progress if it disorients us, inspires a wrong order of values, and if it is the starting point for mistaken decisions. However, we should not discard ideology as a result, but renew it. Today, especially, we are in a situation in which the development of our ideological conception is also an important condition for the acceleration of our entire progress. That is why we strive to assist in the ideological and political interpretation of the trends and content of social processes; we evaluate the relationship between politics and the masses, the changes in this relationship, the reasons behind these changes, and the expected and possible direction taken by these changes; that is why we want to encourage and promote even more the creation of social science results; and that is why our goal is to consolidate the awareness of a national socialist identity and, above all, to strengthen the party's ideological unity.

From this point of view, ideological activity should be based on a continuity that reflects our experiences and it should be organized, and, in any event, justified by reality. On the other hand, however, ideological work should remain an open subject, so that it can provide encouragement in answering the new questions that arise and can encourage modern thinking and creative imagination. It should stimulate scientific and political debate and theoretical work that helps practice and has stood the test of practice. Taking all these into consideration, ideological activity should create an organic relation between our past, present, and future.

We know that, if disturbances in ideological awareness occur in the spiritual life of a society, we have to look for the source of these disturbances primarily in the contradictions in the real processes of the society. Subsequently, not even the most lively ideological offensive can replace the political decisions and acts aimed at eliminating these disturbances. It would be political voluntarism if we wanted to standardize the different awareness conditions by means of some sort of administrative pressure, in order to thus artificially create a consensus.

Today, there is a lively debate under way throughout society on the direct and long-term goals of socialist development, and on the socialist course and chances of development. The readiness to have debates that clarify

matters and the strengthening of the supreme role of socialist ideology require the party to formulate its own ideological position on several important issues.

We have come to the beginning of a new era in socialist development. Socialism the world over has undergone a change and Hungary has also changed considerably compared with 30 years ago, or even 10 or 5 years ago.

We are facing strong ideological and political challenges. First among them are the effects of the international situation of socialism. The capacity of capitalism to renew itself—above all, in developing means of production, renewing organizational forms, and primarily in implementing integration—has proved to be considerably stronger than we thought. The world is becoming global [globalizalodik] and the internationalization of financial capital is now clearly obvious.

The fact that the capitalist positions are searching for support and explanation in the conservative ideology, while the majority of the socialist countries—through reforms and ideological renewal—show encouraging signs and even results in overcoming stagnation and providing a new impetus for the historical advancement of socialism, is a consequence and sign of all these changes.

Our domestic reality provides no lesser challenge for ideology. We have lived through epoch-making changes in the decades of socialist construction so far, and we have achieved considerable social results. The basic ideas of socialism have broadly spread in the Hungarian people's general consciousness. Most members of society express their opinion in this sphere of thought and they refer to these ideas when they are searching for ways that bring development. At the same time, an ideological uncertainty and the need for new ideological answers are also perceptible in society. These emerge primarily in connection with the validity of the previously formulated concept of socialism. In its many elements, the image of socialism which we have propagated in a broad area is today in contradiction with reality. There are several essential reasons for this state of affairs. Some of these reasons are connected with the changes in the global prospects of socialism, other reasons are related to the sudden halt in economic development and, in some cases, with crisis phenomena; all these have undermined, and are still undermining the confidence in several ideological precepts that were previously among the criteria of socialism. Distorted ideological elements deriving from the initial period of socialist construction, elements that, from many points of view, still continue to exist, as well as habits deriving from a crude [vulgaris] interpretation of the Marxist-Leninist theory of social science continue to hinder social and economic development to this very day.

We have only partially carried out the Marxist-Leninist generalization of domestic experiences in socialist construction. The lack of adequate theoretical answers also

hinders the understanding of new phenomena, the setting of tasks, the activities, and the broad assertion of a deeper and more realistic concept of society. We also have to find the way that leads to development in this area.

In addition to analyzing the ideological situation and providing a critical and creative interpretation of the party's ideological activity, we have to formulate the goals and tasks facing both research and education and propaganda, tasks deriving from the changed conditions of ideological activity.

We have to clear our concept of socialism of layers of crude simplifications, speculative models, dogmas, and apologetic terms. We have to go back again to the theoretical basics of Marxism-Leninism and, by strengthening critical self-analyses, we have to concentrate ideological activity on acquainting ourselves with the real path and present of socialism.

In our theoretical activity and our activity to influence the masses we have to put into the foreground a more organic and substantial presentation of the essential features of socialism. It is inadmissible that, in searching for the most efficient roads to development and at the beginning of a new historical phase, the direction of our society's movement and its long-term goals are fading away. We should make these goals known as well as the fact that we can implement the long-term goals of socialism only by exceeding the prevailing present, that is, by consistently changing its concrete state. We are striving to make clear-cut the lasting and still valid basic principles of our concept of socialism, principles like the fact that socialism is a historical change from legal equality toward real equality, that the socialist social order creates the conditions for the lively and human creative activity to gradually free itself from the centuries-old limitations of alienated and monopolized work, that the human personality is increasingly fully developed in socialism, and that society, progressing on the road of the development of socialist democracy, advances toward social self-management and self-government.

As the creation of a socialist society is a process covering an entire historical period, its tasks and applied methods cannot be unchanged and set once and for all. On the contrary, socialism must always be able to transcend its past self.

The cause of socialism, the development of the nation, and the reform are inseparable. The reform is not a goal in itself, but a means of socialism's self-renewal. Therefore, we have to differentiate between the "reform fashions" and the well-founded reform proposals and alternatives aimed at improving socialism. Only reforms that mature within processes based on a realistic analysis of the situation can be successful and accepted by the members of society, and thus possible to implement. The

reform process should be a series of actions that contribute to the creation of the intellectual and material values necessary for our society's socialist development. We now need reforms to be implemented in a firm way and at a fast pace. The MSZMP Central Committee position of 2 July 1987 on the program of economic and social development, and the Government work program adopted by the National Assembly session in September 1987 are centered on the recognition that we can only advance if, starting from the unity of economic and social processes, and acting with determination following this recognition, we conduct a reform policy covering all areas and containing steps that are connected to each other, a reform policy that is based on the unity of stability and change, even if the current situation emphasizes the need for change. Only in this way is it possible for the reform measures to fit together closely and also to match the development peculiarities of individual areas of life in society.

Comprehensive and consistent reform means the rejection of obsolete solutions; it means the programmed accumulation of the necessary new answers. Our reforms cover the substantial renewal of our social practice, the necessary reorganization of our conditions, the development of institutions, and their regrouping. Therefore, it is also necessary to develop political management and, in accordance with the new requirements, to improve the activity of the party, change the style of work, and renew the methods of works.

We should not delay the necessary reforms by claiming there is a need for stability. Our experiences show that, by acting halfway and ineffectively, or by stepping back, we can provoke a crisis situation.

A consistently implemented economic reform is the decisive link in the current phase of our development. In the ideological interpretation of the concrete issues and tasks of economic organization and economic development we have to delimit more clearly than previously the major ideological issues concerning the rules governing the structure and operation of the socialist economy as opposed to issues that become necessary in a given economic situation and which can be justified solely by concrete practical and economic needs.

Our ideological concept concerning the economy starts primarily from the premises that the socialist economy is a planned economy. At the same time, it is a mixed economy, based on differentiated forms of property where public property dominates. This planned economy makes extensive use of the rules of goods production and market conditions. The systematic order of the economy is asserted in the formulation of the goals of society's development and in the deliberate use of economic rules. The objective rules of production and planned economy demand the relative autonomy of the economic sphere. If we impose on society political and social goals that cannot be implemented, and if we

disregard either the operational peculiarities of production and exchange of goods or the goals and means of social planning, all this can lead to the distortion of economic development, social tensions, and insoluble contradictions. An efficient socialist economy should have a flexibly changing economic mechanism at its disposal, and the ideological workers should repeatedly deal with the fundamental principles and values of this economic mechanism. Clarifying the specific practical issues of the economic mechanism, however, is the task of a specialized branch of science in which priority is given to specific approaches of concrete economic theory, leadership and organizational science, and computer, and economic statistics that generalize practical experiences.

We also have to advance in the ideological interpretation of socialist ownership. In the course of the development of the socialist ownership system, along with preserving the dominance of public property, we have to take into account a necessary differentiation in and variety of ownership forms. The change in the system of ownership has not come to an end yet. Therefore, we have to prepare theoretically for the ideological evaluation and practical introduction of newly emerging forms and their various combinations.

Socialist society does not practice its overall proprietary functions through a single institution—the state's management organization. For decades we have been witnessing the fact that the cooperative form has proved to be the most effective form of public property so far. This form demands and enables the assertion of ownership, the owner's participation in the decisionmaking process, the efficiency of common property, and the integration of the independent work of the individual and of the family. Private property based on private activity and independent work has also had important functions in the long historical period of socialist development. Therefore, an important task is to create the ideological conditions for establishing a social atmosphere necessary for the joint operation of various forms of ownership, and to provide scientific answers to the development alternatives of various forms of ownership and to their social interrelations.

The differentiation of interests derives from the structure of the social configuration of socialist society. We recognized in time the distribution of interests in our society and the pluralism of these interests. Therefore, we also have to take into account the political consequences of this variety of interests.

The party is the central power of our political system. Its task is to work out the main directions of political activity and to guide the essential processes of social construction. However, political life is not exhausted in the party's activity, and this organization cannot operate instead of the people. A political system is efficient if the members of the society find an adequate framework and scope for themselves in this political system. This can be

achieved if all the elements and institutions of this political system are independent and actively take the initiative, and if there is a harmonious distribution of work among them, based on relations between equals. There can be no program or organizational form which integrates the conceptions, variety, and interests of all working groups. Therefore, we have to take into account the fact that groups that have been left out of the current organizational forms also seek expression. In connection with this, the fundamental question is whether the spontaneous movements that emerge in this way are carried out within the law or outside the law. As long as these social appearances stay within the legal framework, they can be asserted, even if these take unusual forms.

We have to decide on principle—and at the same time with theoretical and political flexibility—what to introduce into the existing system of political institutions from among the spontaneous movements within society, enriching the content and organization framework of this system in this way; we have to decide on whose representatives we should try to win over with patient dialogue to be our partners in our search for a proper way, and what movements we should isolate, or even eliminate.

Uninterrupted development of democracy is a general rule of socialist construction. Cooperation between the organs, organizations, and institutions of people's power and the organs and associations representing the public that speak for the groupings of society, cooperation that takes into consideration the interests of the entire community, is one of the fundamental elements of the assertion of democracy.

We regard publicity as an indispensable element and framework of democratic political practice and of the representation of our ideas. An important experience of ours is that the people will accept our social order as legitimate if, among other things, they can publicly express their opinions, conceptions, and interests; if they can participate in debates on public matters, in finding solutions, and in making decisions; if they have the opportunity to identify with a clearly expressed system of social policy goals based on a firm system of values; and if they can verify the implementation of these goals.

Publicity should cover every essential issue of public life and should penetrate all the organizations, institutions, and movements of society. At the same time all these, as forums of the exchange of views, should ensure organized and regular participation in the affairs of society. Publicity in socialism includes the possibility of criticism of the political and government activities. The condition for this is the mutual confidence between the leadership and the working people.

Different scales of values exist side by side in the consciousness of the people living in our society. In the course of social changes these different scales of values

naturally affect each other and change. This process in itself leads to disturbances in values. The aftereffects of the contradictions in our historical past increase these disturbances.

We have made perceptible mistakes in clarifying and establishing the contents of the socialist scale of values. In addition, in our ideological activity we did not take into account—and therefore we did not make the people adequately conscious enough—that even various values based on socialism can also contradict each other, and the needs of a concrete situation will always determine the way we should classify these values.

The differences between the declared ideals and practice can also undermine the people's confidence in these values. This is partly due to the fact that both the goals and the roads leading to them were often full of illusions, and values like knowledge, honesty, love of work and one's profession, sincerity, correctness, cultural behavior, attention, honor, solidarity, tact, justice, and other values that are primarily related to individuals but whose broad assertion also makes them community values, have all faded away. Values connected with political life, like belonging to a people, a nation, a class, and the community of socialist countries, are often forced into the background.

As a result of the bureaucratic character of management, important values like the readiness for initiative, acceptance of responsibility, self-assertion, the need to create values, competition, acceptance of risks, or the capacity to have failures lead to renewal, could not all work their way into the scale of socialist values.

The realistic goals, principles, and values of socialism, and the shortcomings of current practice, its mistaken deviations from these ideals give rise to a loss of confidence in these values. Thus, the natural changes in the scale of values appear as a crisis of values in our social consciousness. These disturbances also provide scope for the spread of scales of values and ways of life that are foreign to socialism. At the same time, in our society there is a general need for a firm scale of morals and values that can be followed, and which include noble human values.

Under conditions of pluralism in the ideological sphere, representatives of Marxism-Leninism should consistently struggle to assert the supremacy of our theory by constantly renewing our own resources and improving our arguments.

In its scientific policy the party has been striving to assert the Marxist-Leninist principle according to which the task of scientific research is to discover reality, and research should not be forced to express or "prove" political or theoretical conclusions stipulated in advance, or be forced or used to support practician [prakticista] political decisions with "scientific arguments" after the event.

Domestic social science research projects led to useful practical results. However there are still many unanswered questions—particularly in connection with the social and political conditions and social consequences of the economic reform. The lack of a comprehensive and modern philosophical synthesis is increasingly felt.

Based on high professional and ideological requirements, it is necessary to increase the performance and standard of Marxist social science research, and to strengthen the direct contacts between the social sciences and the political sphere. This will enable politics to not only make use of scientific results that are sometimes created accidentally, but to initiate, order, and use to a greater extent than previously the research carried out for politics itself.

We have to renew our ideology and ideological activity. For this we also need experimentation and a search for ways. We know that this can also lead to inevitable mistakes. For the benefit of our future, we should have enough patience to search for better and more objective solutions. For all these we have to ensure adequate political conditions.

The party should also renew itself. The activity of the party members and their self-awareness deriving from our achievements and goals are indispensable conditions for active, initiative-filled and efficient political activity. In the same way, a fundamental condition for readiness to act is that, from practical relations and from the practice of living party democracy, the party members should feel that, in implementing the program of economic and social development, the party's leading organs rely on their readiness for sacrifices, their independent activity, their wisdom, and their devotion.

Cracks have also appeared in the party's ideological unity. This weakens the political unity and the assertion of the party's leading role. Therefore, our ideological work is also important in promoting the unity of ideological action of the party, strengthening the party, and making its leading role more effective. This can be achieved only if a democratic, creative, and vivid spirit of debate emerges in the party. The collective experience, wisdom, and readiness for action present in the party members can surface only in a debate. And there is vital need for all of these today.

'Test Referendum' on Economic Reforms Held

LD222358 Warsaw PAP in English 2245 GMT
22 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 22—A test referendum, held today in a medium-sized town of Garwolin outside Warsaw, attracted a total of 5,811 voters out of the 9,383 eligible for vote, the Polish Television said tonight.

As many as 5,393 persons today said "yes" to both questions listed in the referendum which was held one week ahead of the nation-wide referendum.

Three hundred and ten people said "no" to both questions of the referendum.

The referendum concerns a package of sweeping economic and political reforms.

Peace Activist on Hunger Strike

AU230734 Paris AFP in English 2355 GMT 22 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 23 (AFP)—Polish peace activist Jaroslaw Waliszewski, 23, has been on hunger strike for over three weeks in protest at being drafted into a civil defence unit of the Polish Army, an independent source said here on Sunday.

Mr Waliszewski is a member of the Polish ecologist and pacifist group Liberty and Peace (WIP).

Stationed at Trzebiatow, near his native city, the port of Szczecin, he has refused to eat since he was called up on October 29, the source said.

The military authorities have refused his request for a transfer to civilian service (such as hospital work), as provided for by law, the source said.

'Excerpts' of 6th PZPR CC Plenum Report

LD172248 Warsaw PAP in English 2152 GMT
17 Nov 87

["Report for 6th PUWP CC Plenum"—PAP Headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 17—Polish newspaper of Nov. 18 carries the text of a report by the Political Bureau for the 6th Plenum of the PUWP CC, to be held in the third decade of this month. The report is titled: "The Deepening of Socialist Renewal—Condition of Accelerating Poland's Development." Following are extensive excerpts of the report:

I. Socialist Renewal—Historic Necessity and Great Chance [subhead]

We enter a new stage of socialist renewal. Its to-date output and experience facilitate further, radical, and consistent actions. It is impossible to effectively solve Polish problems by means of small steps or half measures. Conditions are ripe for a fundamental acceleration of changes.

Reaching these conclusions is in line with ideology and initiatives of our party confirmed by practice.

Achievement and Weaknesses [subhead]

We were starting the implementation of the line of the 9th and 10th congresses in dramatically hard conditions of economic collapse and deep decline in confidence in the authorities, sharp political struggle, imperialist restrictions, and attempts to bring about international isolation of Poland. We also had to overcome conservative, opportunist tendencies to hamper and give up the reforms.

Despite unusually difficult internal and external conditionalities, the national income has been growing for five years, the pre-crisis level of industrial production has been exceeded. All sectors of farming score unprecedentedly good results. Labour productivity has increased.

The scope of changes implemented over the recent years in favour of democratization and law-abidingness is unequalled in the history of the People's Poland. Numerous new, sometimes pioneering institutional-legal solutions make up a broad structure of openness, people's rule, and self management.

One and a half years have passed since the 10th PUWP Congress. Quite a good deal of work has been done over this time. However, more could have been done. The pace and scope of implementing the congress decisions cannot satisfy. There is too little consistency and efficacy of implementation in many fields.

We stated at the 5th Plenum that despite an unquestionable progress in production, we did not get closer to the prospect of the money-market balance, we did not reach an essential improvement in the quality of goods and services. Housing construction did not work its way out of the decline. There is a poor advance in structural changes of the economy, necessary to adjust the range of production to social needs, requirements of modernity and international competition.

Need To Speed Up Reforms [subhead]

The new stage of renewal became an economic, political, and psychosocial necessity. It is necessary to more fully release development reserves, rich resources of human energy, knowledge, and initiative which have not been sufficiently used yet. The main link is radicalization of the economic reform, ensuring that the economic mechanisms could work not partly but with full strength. The

scale of the envisaged changes calls for society to identify with it as its own, consciously adopted programme. With this in mind we came out in favour of holding a nationwide referendum.

Reject Voluntarism and Doctrinairism [subhead]

The new prospect calls for new thinking. The changes we initiate put us under an obligation of a creative use of Marxism-Leninism.

The experience of the People's Poland proved that there is no way to enclose processes of socialist development in rigid, arbitrarily determined patterns, in a corset of timeless theses and solutions, in isolation from the laws of the preceding system, and first of all its hard legacy. New society "is emerging" from the old one in a long-range historical process, as part of which the premises of the development of socialism on its own foundation are being gradually created.

Poland's Road to Socialism [subhead]

Our reforms are an integral, though in many cases original part of programmatic, political, and economic changes which are under way at present in many fraternal parties and states on the entire territory of socialism. Taking the challenge of the present day it enters today a new stage of development. The ideas of reconstruction and acceleration were firmly expressed in the programme of the 27th CPSU Congress, were forcefully confirmed during vital, ideologically and intellectually creative observances of the 70th anniversary of the October revolution. These ideas express an objective regularity of the present phase of our socio-economic system.

The more socialism there is in Poland, the stronger, more just and sovereign she is. Socialism is all the more full, rich the better it refers to Polish conditions and expresses the will and strivings of our society.

The fact that the transformations implemented by the PUWP harmonize with the Soviet reconstruction, as well as the goals which many other communist and workers' parties aim at, adds us strength, consolidates the conviction of the prospect of success of the strategy of socialist reforms. We come out in favor of speeding up processes of socialist economic integration, for strengthening of the common front of struggle for a peaceful future of the world, for a tighter—concentrated on contemporary problems and challenges—cooperation between our parties in the field of superstructure.

II. Socialist State—Continuity and Reconstruction [subhead]

We decided at the 9th congress, and confirmed with full strength at the 10th congress, that development of democracy and national agreement must be the basis of socialist renewal.

Not Omnipotence, But Efficiency in Solving Main Tasks [subhead]

Political and socio-economic changes make up an indivisible whole. Experience proved that the power and efficiency of a state are not derived from its omnipotence. If its organs try to determine all and regulate it in detail then it results, in fact, in weakening the strategic role of state. Also, it reduces human activeness and enterprise, creates and deepens the sense of division into "the ruling" and "the governed."

Higher Rank of Self Management [subhead]

The basic current of the processes of democratization is the development of socialist selfgovernment. It should develop and deepen in all variety of forms, and first of all on mass planes—in the system of representative bodies, worker and dwellers self managements, in trade union and youth movements, in cooperative movement, bodies of social inspection.

The basic link of social self government is made up of People's Councils at all levels.

Expanding economic powers of the councils can be carried out in two stages. During the first stage, one should strengthen the potentials of local economy through the transfer of some enterprises—originally founded by ministers—to People's Councils. A legal framework of municipal ownership will have to be established in the second stage of the reform.

The party attaches great importance to the further democratization of the electoral system. We are of the opinion that changes in the Electoral Law for People's Councils should be introduced before the nearest elections already. The candidates should be granted equal chances of being elected.

Space For Civic Initiative [subhead]

Democratization, expansion of self-government, are a multi-plane process materialized also through the movement of various civic initiatives, through the abundance of their forms stemming from the communities' needs, from the variety of human interests and aspirations.

In the past, some links of the authorities and some party bodies had shown indifference to forms of grass-roots activity and, frequently, even reserve and distrust. This attitude must be changed.

Development of Civic Rights and Liberties [subhead]

We are determined to follow the road of expanding civic rights. The vast attainments of People's Poland in creating material conditions and legal guarantees of the right to work, rest, learning, health protection, participation in culture, etc., afford a basis for the sense of social security, the certainty of tomorrow, the awareness that no one will

be left to one's fate, the conditions of respect to human dignity, a broad system of help in need. From this angle we can well compete even with much richer nations.

Of course, attempts to use the broadening democratic liberties for anti-systemic purposes must not be belittled.

We find the idea of creating a social committee for human rights, composed of persons enjoying high civic and moral prestige, interesting and useful.

Openness and Law-Abidingness—The Pillars of Socialist Political Culture [subhead]

The guarantees of civic rights are served by the principle of openness which has consolidated in the recent years. There will be no turning back, we are going to give a decisive countering to attempts of restricting this principle. This applies, among other things, to the inhibitions towards critical reports in the press, radio and television, and towards bold, sharp discussions, which are observed in some of the state authorities and some party links.

We believe that the law on the control of publications and spectacles prepared in broad consultation in 1981, is a good safeguard to the freedom of speech.

Law-abidingness is the foundation of state order and civil liberties. We have done a lot in the recent years to strengthen its guarantees. It still happens sometimes that people are not treated as equal before the law, there are cases of unjustified preferences, interpretation of the regulations against the interests of citizen, doing harm to him, and even humiliating him through the meanders of bureaucratic procedures.

On the other hand, however, part of the citizens show disregard for order and discipline, trespassing or bypassing the law. Toward Deeper National Agreement Under Conditions of Socialist Pluralism [subhead]

The essence of Polish socialist pluralism lies in respect to the motivations stemming from various views and outlooks of world, revealing and combining of various interests, confronting them on the plane of dialogue, transforming them into a driving force of development and agreement for the benefit of the nation and the socialist fatherland. Its limits, that cannot be overstepped, are the Polish reason of state and the constitutional systemic order.

We invariably take the stand that the interest of the workers and their opinion should play the main role in a socialist pluralism.

As a signatory of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth the party believes that while keeping and strengthening its hitherto functions, this movement could now become a more active ally of local self-government, organizations and social associations, a

forum for exchange and enrichment of their experience, it could play the role of public mediator in conflicts emerging in these fields of democracy.

Positive experience comes from the work of the consultative council at the president of the Council of State, the beginning of work by the citizens' councils at chairmen of the voivodship (provincial) councils, the output of the Sejm's and government's consultative bodies which work in expanded and representative teams, the appearance of new periodicals on the normal press market, instances of establishing dialogue between representatives of the reasons of the party and those oppositionist milieux which seek a way out of the sterile circle of negation and boycott.

We do not want to content ourselves with hitherto solutions. A consistent application of the principle that "it does not matter where you are coming from, what matters is what you are doing today and where you are going" has provided opportunities for millions of members and many activists of the former "Solidarnosc" to join the public life.

Our party is composed of people who did not give in in sharp struggle, or succumb to difficulties, who withstood the hardest test. But we do not harbour resentment to those former PUWP members who honestly, in deep conviction, have committed themselves to the process of renewal and then, guided by mistrust or bitterness, left our ranks failing to understand that the martial law was not a step towards the reconstruction of the old order but the creation of basic premises for the necessary changes. The activity and work of such people are needed by the cause of Polish reforms. The returns into our ranks of those who did not betray the idea of socialism are no dishonour to anyone.

In Defence of National Interests [subhead]

Strongly coming in favour of the strategy of national agreement, the party nonetheless does not lose from its sight various persons, groups, and circles, which obstinately carry on or undertake antisocialist game. They respond to the offer of deep changes with idle negation, call for a boycott. Regardless of subjective motives of people supporting these slogans, objectively, they hamper reforms, bring harm to the cause of agreement.

Various World Outlooks, One Poland [subhead]

The main goal of our denominational policy is to create conditions for harmonious cooperation for the benefit of the motherland of its believing and non-believing citizens. The Polish state is lay but not anti-religious. We will continue to consistently follow the principle of permanence of coexistence of the Church and socialist state, desire to cooperate in solving national problems, conducting dialogue and dispute on the ideological-philosophical plane.

Constitution Suited to Present Conditions and Future Needs [subhead]

Guided by the need of a legal reflection and confirmation of changes in the Polish socio-political system, at the 10th congress, the party declared itself in favour of transformations in the Constitution. A public discussion will answer whether to just introduce necessary changes or start work on a new constitution.

Constitutional solution must be given, among other questions, to the structure of people's councils and the Sejm, whether it should comprise one or two houses, and whether it would be right to have an organ representing territorial self-governments in our parliament.

Stake on the Best [subhead]

The present time, the economic reform, democratization, the process of agreement, all this requires a much bolder, and first of all implemented with full consistence, personnel policy.

Particularly talented individuals get insufficient support. Many party organizations and instances [as received] fail to give activity space to those people who boldly search for new ways of action.

It is necessary to decisively strengthen the trend, which has appeared in the recent years, to more frequently use non-party people in appointing the managerial cadres. The cadres policy must stake on the young.

III. Economic Reform—Stake on Enterprise, Efficiency and Balance [subhead]

We combine the drive to efficiency, enterprise, economic balance, a broad openness to modernity, scientific and technological progress with the strengthening of the principles of justice, with curing work ethics.

Starting Point—Economic Balance [subhead]

At the fifth plenum we stressed that we do not consider price increases as a basic instrument of balancing economy. We give priority to raising the efficiency of the economy and to great production.

[Conditions for Enterprise [subhead]

Enterprise requires true economic parameters, especially wages corresponding to the quality of work and prices reflecting the justified costs of production and market realities.

For the Efficiency of Socialist Sector [subhead]

In the process of shaping the structure of ownership we shall first of all be guided by the striving to create favourable conditions for the development of production forces and a better, concordant with the principle of

justice, satisfying the needs of working people. Social ownership of production means is and will continue to be the foundation of socialist social relations, development of the country, social security, and improvement in the working people's living standards.

We have also learned that "large" and "state-owned" not always means "better," "more socialized," and "better satisfying the needs." The "state-owned" may also not be, in its essence, truly socialist when it sponges on others, who work better.

The economic reform is a stake on co-existence, in Polish conditions, of various types and forms of ownership and on making the best use of the economic values of each of them.

But opinions that unlimited expansion of private capital and even re-privatization is the key to an economic well-being are deprived of factual grounds, divorced from economic and social realities, in fact, naive and misleading.

The party supports the government's proposal to introduce communal ownership. We also share the intention to create the possibility of free flow of means among socialized enterprises (for instance in the form of shares) so as the productive factors flow to the most efficient units.

Central Control—Autonomy of Enterprises [subhead]

Deep changes take place in the model of administering public property. The significance of planning and programming work—determining the conditions of the management of enterprises in a long-range way, envisaging and making it possible to influence the operation of these enterprises—will grow in the functioning of the centre.

Alongside this, the role of the working crew of the enterprise—as an administrator of the part of national property and thus the mandatary of the scope of economic power, broader than so far—will decidedly get strengthened.

Equal Chances, Rights and Responsibility of All Economic Units [subhead]

Many controversial opinions are associated with the work of the non-agricultural private sector. It is not right to have a conviction that every private economic activity contradicts socialism by its very nature and that it inevitably leads to re-emergence of labour exploitation. We think that one should support proposals by the democratic party to define in the Constitution the place of private sector in the national economy.

We think that one should ensure access of private enterprises to the supplies of intermediate and raw materials and to bank credits, based on equal rights and

dictated by reasons of effectiveness. One should also put private sector on an equal footing with the socialized one as regards fiscal burdens and the share in the development of socio-economic infrastructure.

Economic Rules and Mechanisms [subhead]

As for the control of economic development, the role of market mechanisms will grow and the scope of using them will be broadened as the reform consolidates. Practically, this means primarily respecting objective character of economic principles of the commodity-money economy, particularly the law of value and the law of supply and demand.

"More" or "less" of socialism in the economy depends not on the degree in which market rules are binding but on whether the entire system functions effectively and meets society's needs.

For Man, for Better Life [subhead]

The economic reform and aiming at an increase in productivity is the road to reach social goals, to ensure broadly understood justice: both payments according to work effects and equal changes, access to education and culture, feeling of social security, and certainty of tomorrow.

The implementation of the state's social functions requires in-depth analysis and substantial changes. We are not a "super-welfare state", and it is not the point to diminish the hitherto basic achievements in this field. They are inviolable and they stem from the humanistic nature of socialism.

Those people and (social) groups who are deprived of the possibility to improve their material standing through an increase in work effort must be provided with the necessary assistance and effective social protection.

The state's social policy should be actively enriched by the trade unions. We declare ourselves for the expansion of forms and means through which they can exercise their social functions.

One of the central issues of the social policy is the division of consumption funds into individual and group consumption. We took a stand on that at the 10th Congress of the PUWP. We want to harmoniously combine an increase in the group consumption fund with an increase in personal income.

IV. The Reform is a Great Initiative and the Basic Obligation of the Party [subhead]

At the 10th PUWP Congress we said: "The party's leadership is the 'prince of principles' of our system. It is no unjustified claim. It stems from the unshakable historical, class, ideological and moral foundations."

At the Forefront of Changes [subhead]

All tasks related to the function of the PUWP, to the quality of its leadership and service, are focused today in the act of socialist renewal.

To Act in a Principal, Uniform, Consistent Way [subhead]

To be in the forefront of transformations is an obligation which requires from the entire party an increased intellectual and organizational effort, which defines anew its programming, control, inspiratory and personnel functions, and which changes the conditions and deepens the ideas of materializing the party's guiding, leading and subservient function.

We must resolutely oppose both any muzzling of the reform by those from parochial dogmatic positions, and warping its character by opening possibilities for a capitalist-fashion "free-for-all".

Times require from the party to make its links more autonomous, not give in to socialist routine of referring anything to the higher level authorities or to self-protecting habits that warp the sense and style of party operation.

Priority for Political Methods [subhead]

To influence politically is to affect the course of events not by means of regulations, recommendations, or instructions for the state's executive bodies, but through the commitment of party members who work there, and first of all of those party members who are active in elected bodies, territorial self-governments and workers' self-managements, and in trade unions and associations.

On the Side of the New [subhead]

Having been announced by the 10th PUWP Congress, the individual party talks preceding the national conference of delegates will be an important element in the deepening of the reformatory orientation and in the expansion of the alliance of forces in favour of the renewal. We believe that the formula of those talks should be broader than usual. The teams appointed by the basic party organization should hear the opinions and evaluations by non-affiliated self-government, labour and youth activists.

New Tasks of the Theory [subhead]

The transformations embracing Poland and the whole world of socialism demand in-depth theoretical studies as well as competent generalizations and proposals. In many a domain Polish social sciences have world-recognized achievements. In many others they are lagging behind the current needs. It is imperative, first of all, to overcome the remnants of theoretical dogmatism as well

as the trends of steering away from the analysis of real problems and towards abstract notions, contending oneself with topics for a mere contributor.

Marxist researchers should concentrate on such issues as the theory of ownership, question of individual industry and economic activity in the conditions of the socialist system, relations between planning and market, problems of differentiating incomes, interpretation of motivation to work and to social security. Transformations in the class and group structures, as well as in those on the professional level, including the position, function and alliances of the working class, are an important field for study.

It is our belief that the 3rd All-Poland PUWP Ideological and Theoretical Conference to be held in mid-1988 should devote its debate to exactly those key problems of the process of socialist renewal.

Urban's 17 Nov Press Conference

AU201834 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
18 Nov 87 pp 1, 4

[Text] Government spokesman Jerzy Urban met foreign and Polish journalists at his weekly press conference at the Interpress Center on 17 November. He made a statement about some recent foreign comments concerning Poland and then replied to questions from journalists. As has become customary, we publish the full transcript of the meeting below.

Urban: General Wojciech Jaruzelski, the chairman of the State Council, will shortly visit Greece at the invitation of the Greek president. Our relations with Greece have traditionally been very good for a number of years. The visit will mark the continuation of the high level dialogue that was begun during Papandreou's visit to Poland. It is to be expected that issues of interest to both sides as well as the international community will be discussed. Talks will be held on the subject of bilateral political and economic relations and prospects for their development.

At 2010 on 13 November, Radio Free Europe broadcast a report on a statement that is said to have been made by Professor Baka. According to the report, which was prepared by Lechoslaw Gawlikowski, Baka, the president of the Polish National Bank, revealed: "Interesting details about the economic aims of the Polish authorities for the next few years. Baka delivered a speech at the PZPR Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences in the middle of September, and copies of the text of the speech are being circulated in Poland. This is followed by a discussion of this alleged text. Generally speaking, what emerges from the text is that President Baka expressed a negative appraisal of prospects for the reform and Poland's economic position. For example, he is alleged to have said that there is stagflation in Poland at the present time. That is to say, there is inflation accompanied by economic stagnation." [quotation marks as published]

The president of the Polish National Bank has authorized me to say that all of this is a lie and bears the hallmark of a provocation. He has not delivered a speech at the PZPR Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences at any time this year. The views attributed to him are not his views, and he has not expressed views of this kind anywhere else.

I would like to correct several other Radio Free Europe reports. The reports broadcast by Radio Free Europe depart from the truth and the radio station uses unreliable sources. On 12 November Radio Free Europe reported that the militia in Wroclaw detained several people in connection with the arrest of Kornel Morawiecki. It reported that Morawiecki's son had been arrested along with several other people whose names were not given. This is untrue, no one has been arrested in Wroclaw apart from Morawiecki and the woman who was arrested along with him.

On the same day Radio Free Europe broadcast a statement made by Elzbieta Wasiutynska, a representative of the so-called "Solidarity" coordinating bureau in Brussels. She said that the independent trade union, that is, "Solidarity," had not requested financial assistance from the U.S. Congress. Speaking to Radio Free Europe's Washington correspondent, she said, and I quote: "In reply to the statement made by the government spokesman in Warsaw, Jerzy Urban, who said that 'Solidarity' had requested \$360,000 in addition to the \$1 million allocated by Congress in order to finance, as Urban maintained, the work of the union's leadership." [sentence as published] She then went on to say that "Solidarity" had only informed Congressman Jack Kemp about its budget, and she described Urban's commentary as cynical and at variance with the truth. She said: "that 'Solidarity' had never lobbied for funding from the U.S. Congress."

I have here some official documents contained in the *Congressional Record*. The items published in this official U.S. Congress publication include a letter from the Temporary National Commission to Mr Jack Kemp, a member of the House of Representatives, in which the Temporary National Commission writes: "I would like to express sincere gratitude for your constant support for our struggle. The assistance provided by you and your colleagues not only provides us with funds for our struggle but, more importantly, gives us hope of victory. Our request for foreign assistance for the calendar year 1988 amounts to \$1.36 million which includes assistance for each of the 10 regional 'Solidarity' chapters and for the central bodies headed by Lech Walesa." The letter then specifies various costs and what the money is to be spent on, including the "further operation of our foreign bureau in Brussels." It is further stated that these principles concerning acceptance of foreign aid have been approved at a meeting of the Temporary National Commission: "Please accept our expression of gratitude for the very significant initiative that you launched in the

U.S. Congress for providing us with \$1 million for the needs of our union in the coming budgetary year. Signed: The Temporary Coordinating Commission TKK."

However, it is not only this letter published in an official Congress publication that gives the lie to Mrs Wasiutynska's denials—so does a letter from Marian Kaleta, a representative of the Brussels bureau based in Sweden, to Bogdan Borusewicz, an activist belonging to the illegal "Solidarity" union in Gdansk, which was received along with a consignment of terrorist equipment—I will speak about that in a moment. Kaleta writes to Borusewicz as follows: "That the 'Solidarity' bureau, Jurek M. being the person actually responsible—one can assume that he is referring to Jerzy Milewski—managed to arrange the \$1 million represents the bureau's greatest success since it was formed, all the more so because no one believed that this was realistic and possible. The next matter is that this \$1 million paves the way to the further granting of aid. I am thinking of money for the use of the country and the Temporary National Commission, that is, for technical assistance. One thing is certain, it provided an opportunity for 'Solidarity,' both in Poland and abroad to put its finances in order. Things have turned out differently, the success has turned into a defeat." These are the charges that Borusewicz makes in view of the fact that what I said about these allegedly independent activists accepting a U.S. Government salary made the "Solidarity" leadership give up the money. The letter also states that the idea behind the \$1 million was simply to "fill up our stores and yours." Later in the letter it is said that the credibility of the "Solidarity" bureau has been completely undermined by the repudiation of its efforts to obtain the \$1 million. "What is worse is that we are still to feel the consequences of these decisions."

What is the Temporary National Commission today—the letter continues—and whom does it represent. Many questions can be asked, but there are no answers to them from Poland, and no one knows what the budget for 1988 will look like: these are the facts. One thing is certain: We need money to continue fighting and the bureau's cash box is empty. Jurek M.'s authority has been undermined. In a word, \$1 million has been lost because of the particularist interests of a group of people who have counted on the illusion of reaching an understanding with the "Reds."

This entire correspondence—I could quote from it extensively—shows that not only have there been bitter arguments about money but also that "Solidarity" representatives in the West were actively involved in lobbying for official financial assistance from the United States. It also shows that the statement by Mrs Wasiutynska that has now been published contains assertions that depart from the truth.

A matter related to this. I informed you about the arrest of Krzysztof S., who collected a trailer containing terrorist equipment from outside a hotel in Gdansk. The

journalists who are here today had an opportunity to view the equipment that was seized by the security service. An investigation is being conducted into this latest consignment to have arrived in Poland from Sweden; it was uncovered in the middle of October. The investigation is being conducted by the Investigative Bureau of the Ministry of Internal Affairs under the supervision of the Voivodship Prosecutor's Office in Gdansk. So far, it has been established that the person who is being held in temporary custody in connection with this matter is Krzysztof Szymanski, a 39-year-old inhabitant of Gdansk, who until recently, was a sailor employed by Polish Ocean Lines. He has testified that during a voyage to Sweden in February of this year he personally prepared this consignment for shipment.

Szymanski was a member of the Polish Ocean Lines branch of "Solidarity" when it existed. Recently, he was connected with "Fighting Solidarity," which Andrzej Kolodziej represents in Gdansk. He was also connected with another "Solidarity" splinter group represented by Borusewicz and Merkel. He recently left employment with Polish Ocean Lines. Krzysztof Szymanski admitted that he had acted as a go-between between those who ordered equipment in Poland—according to his testimony, they were principally Andrzej Kolodziej, Bogdan Borusewicz, and Jacek Merkel in Gdansk and Kornel Morawiecki in Wroclaw—and those who processed the orders, Marian Kaleta and Jozef Lebenbaum, who live in Sweden. These activists belonging to illegal groups in Poland used pseudonyms in their contacts with Lebenbaum and Kaleta: Lex, the Small One, and so on. I have given these pseudonyms.

Szymanski testified that the consignment of terrorist equipment was transported across the border by a courier from Sweden who used the pseudonym Bogdan. Szymanski said that this person is a Pole who is permanently resident in Sweden but regularly visits Poland. Krzysztof Szymanski knows him and has provided a description of his appearance, and with the help of this description the team conducting the investigation has produced an artist's likeness of the courier. Szymanski does not know his name or his address and he has no detailed information about the way in which the consignment was transported. At the present time, the way in which the courier was able to cross the border without going through customs is being investigated. The consignment was supposed to be handed over at a parking lot of the Marina Hotel in Sopot, that is, in Jelitkow near Sopot. What the Ministry of Internal Affairs has been able to establish so far indicates that part of the consignment was meant for Merkel and Borusewicz, that is printing equipment and materials and illegal Polish-language publications, and part of it for Andrzej Kolodziej, who represents so-called "Fighting Solidarity."

He was to receive sights for shoulder weapons, batons that deliver an electric shock, weapons for firing gas canisters and warning flares along with ammunition,

canisters containing nerve gas, listening devices, so-called "bugs," "Scanner" listening devices, and "Minox" miniature cameras. Journalists had an opportunity to view this equipment before the conference at an exhibition organized by the Investigative Department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The correspondence that was seized along with the consignment indicates that this was financed by Western centers based not only in Sweden. I have xeroxed copies of the correspondence here. You are welcome to make copies.

The people conducting the investigation are particularly interested in the fact that they have established that at the instigation of Marian Kaleta and Jozef Lebenbaum, Andrzej Kłodziej, in agreement with Kornel Morawiecki, had started to organize a terrorist group in the Baltic coast area. Szymanski's testimony on this subject has been recorded on video film. This matter is being examined very carefully, because Szymanski stated that this special group was planning terrorist attacks on various administrative and party headquarters in Gdynia, Sopot, and Gdansk. Szymanski and Morawiecki have been charged with smuggling and with avoiding customs duty.

In a moment we will reproduce for you excerpts from Szymanski's taped depositions. His written depositions and other evidence, which are much more extensive, have been signed by him.

The Gdansk Voivodship prosecutor has authorized these disclosures. Please reproduce them from the videotape: [begin recording]

Investigator: You said you helped to pack the refrigerators. How?

Szymanski: He had a place rented.

Investigator: Kaleta rented a place? In Malmo?

Szymanski: Yes.

Investigator: You packed the refrigerators together? Anyone else?

Szymanski: There was no one else at that moment. An acquaintance wearing a beard would come at times, but....

Investigator: You and Kaleta did the packing?

Szymanski: Yes.

Investigator: How did you do this packing?

Szymanski: I mean the inner insulation of the refrigerators....

Investigator: You mean this insulation was somehow extricated?

Szymanski: Yes, it was extricated and those things were put in its place.

Investigator: You said you helped to pack the refrigerators, but that you do not know in detail what was put in. What do you know?

Szymanski: I remember batteries, gas containers, something wrapped up in black tinfoil, two miniature transmitters, some odds and ends, and some small plates.

Investigator: What about the gas pistols?

Szymanski: They were wrapped up in some tinfoil.

Investigator: You did not know they were gas pistols, did you?

Szymanski: I assumed they were.

Investigator: Anything else?

Szymanski: Equipment to create electric shocks.

Investigator: This equipment and what else?

Szymanski: I am hard put to say what else. Batteries and some electronic components.

Investigator: Field glasses?

Szymanski: Yes, field glasses.

Investigators: Exactly. What was their purpose?

Szymanski: I do not know.

Investigator: During your stay in Sweden this load was brought together to be sent off, was it not?

Szymanski: It was.

Investigator: Did Kaleta say how it was going to be transported here?

Szymanski: No.

Investigator: You two never thought about this?

Szymanski: He did. He had various ideas of his own. He himself determined the mode of transportation.

Investigator: When that load arrived in Poland you were to divide its contents between two persons?

Szymanski: That letter shows that he transferred to me....

Investigator: Some part of that load you were to hand over to Kolodziej? As you said, he was a representative of Fighting Solidarity? Another part of that load you were to hand over to Borusiewicz?

Szymanski: I am surprised you mention Borusiewicz because nothing was said that he was going to receive anything.

Investigator: What about that talk to decide who was going to receive those things?

Szymanski: Fighting Solidarity was going to receive them.

Investigator: Was the equipment you and Kaleta stuffed into the refrigerators to go only to Fighting Solidarity?

Szymanski: Yes.... At the second meeting he said that the political situation already existed, and I assumed that it was so. He led me to understand that he was interested in such things, that the previous action methods did not pass their test, and that it was necessary to get interested in more aggressive methods. It was then that it was suggested to find out whether Kaleta could make purchases, or to reconnoiter, or to be helped in some way in this matter.

Investigator: Did he state concretely what was at stake and which equipment was involved?

Szymanski: He suggested concretely those gas pistols so we could find out more about them and only later on did he specifically state which types were up his alley.

Investigator: Did he mention that he would call again?

Szymanski: No.

Investigator: Did he say anything about Kornel Morawiecki's attitude toward those plans?

Szymanski: Before I left I asked him about consulting Morawiecki, and he said that Morawiecki knew and had no reservations. I do not remember exactly what he said, but I think that he accepted those plans.

Investigator: But why did Kolodziej insist that the weapons bought in Poland would be better?

Szymanski: He said that this was easier. Besides, Kaleta was afraid that suspicions might arise that weapons came from the West. This suggested that Kaleta's technical assistance was to involve only those gas pistols and electronic equipment or transmitters and that Kolodziej was to obtain the weapons himself.

Investigator: Did Kolodziej tell you at any time later on that he would take any such action here? Did he specify the objective and that which would meet the conditions which you stated here and about which you told Kolodziej?

Szymanski: If I remember those objectives correctly, I think he mentioned party committees and said that they were the main objectives.

Investigator: All right. You then went to Sweden, you met with them, and you told them about those suggestions, did you not? What was the response?

Szymanski: Kaleta was interested and Lebenbaum also accepted them, but only after a long consideration. On the first occasion he listened and only on the second occasion did he volunteer his acceptance, but in a very cautious form. [end recording]

Boguslaw Turek, UPI: Minister, why did the authorities react with such nervousness to the fact that the Polish Socialist Party has been reactivated, and detained about 30 participants in the meeting with journalists? Does this mean that the Polish Socialist Party has no place within the so-called framework of socialist pluralism? There was no nervousness. The order-keeping forces, that is the militia or the Security Service did no more than just to take a legal action against an illegal meeting. In line with the law on public assemblies of 29 March 1962, permission must be obtained from the appropriate authorities to hold a meeting.

The parody of the Polish Socialist Party performed at that meeting will certainly find no room in socialist pluralism. The Polish Socialist Party joined forces with the Polish Workers Party in 1948 to form the PZPR. This happened a very long time ago. If a group of people wants to turn back the wheel of history, I assure you that they will not succeed. Poland's democratic development is not and will not be based on turning back the wheel of history. On the contrary.

Various small groups of people continue to try to establish various parties. I think that the political intention of that meeting organized by the people in question—they hail from the Confederation for Independent Poland, the Workers Defense Committee, and other such groupings—for the purpose of setting up something called the socialist party was to hinder the processes of our present democratic changes, which will be suitably accelerated if we compromise their actions, that is if we show that it is possible to violate the limits of socialist pluralism at the drop of a hat and that the intention to extend these limits is an unfortunate phenomenon. [sentence as published] The thing is that the adversaries of socialism do not like our reforms.

Math Hoviseppa, Finland: Minister, the most recent results of the public opinion polls show that only 42 percent of voters intend to vote in the coming referendum and that over 25 percent of them express their complete disinterest. Only about 50 percent said they would vote "yes" in the referendum. Is the government worried about these results? What minimum of votes would please the government?

Urban: Either you made a mistake or I have misheard your percentages. Not 50 but over 90 percent of those who intend to vote say that they will vote "yes." The number of those who want to vote and say "yes" to the two referendum questions continues to grow. According to the more recent opinion polls, 51 percent of our people say that they are going to vote and 33 percent are still undecided. We take it that most of those who are still undecided will finally decide in favor of voting in the referendum.

The data I have cited were compiled last Saturday and have been supplied by the Television Public Opinion Research Center. Naturally, they may change either way, but we have noted that ever since these polls began the number of those who intend to vote continues to increase slowly. I hope it will go on increasing and that over 50 percent of voters will affirm the referendum questions so that the referendum proposals are binding on us and have to be implemented.

Aside from those polls, it will be interesting to see what results will be produced by the token referendum organized in Garwolin by Polish Television. This referendum may be compared to the American election primaries. It will help us to find out about the behavior of the undecided people and about the future behavior of the electorate during the real referendum. The Garwolin pilot referendum is a novelty in our country.

Andrea Talqni, [Rome] *La Repubblica*, Italy: Minister, you said that there was no place for that Polish Socialist Party on the Polish political stage. What would the authorities' reaction be if that party continued its activities? Is there a place for it in the so-called second press circulation? Or will the authorities react the way they did yesterday?

Urban: The issue is quite simple: The authorities act in line with the rule of law. But your question is whether illegal activities are possible in Poland. Such activities are possible in every area—not only political, but also criminal. Perhaps I have misunderstood your question because you are not satisfied. Please repeat it.

Andrea Talqni, [Rome] *La Repubblica*, Italy: Will that make things clearer? What I mean is will the entire PPS be treated as an unofficial independent group, albeit an illegal one, or will it be considered completely illegal and therefore banned?

Urban: Now I understand. No, it will not be tolerated. It will be considered an illegal group. Almost all of its members also belong to various other illegal groups, and some of them also take part in various illegal undertakings.

Christopher Bobinski, [London] *Financial Times*: After the workers council of the "Polcolor" plant had objected to a merger with "Elpol," the officials of the new ministry [not further identified] began to hint that representatives of the workers' council would not be able to take part in a competition for the post of director of "Polcolor." As far as I know, this post is still vacant. This seems to indicate that there is not much that is new in the new ministry. Have you anything to say to the contrary?

Urban: I know nothing about this subject, therefore I cannot comment in any way. In a legal sense, this depends on whether "Polcolor" is on the list of 400 enterprises where workers' councils do not have such rights.

Renate Marsch, [Hamburg] DPA: You said on Saturday that the price lists being circulated in various parts of the country are false. If they are, how is it possible that they have materialized in some shops? Is the Prosecutor's Office investigating this?

Urban: I do not know if the prosecutor's office would occupy itself with rumors that shops have already received these price lists. I have seen the price lists that are being circulated. Minister Lewandowski, secretary of state in the Finance Ministry, has told the press that all the price lists being circulated are false, because no official price lists exist. They have yet to be established.

Christopher Bobinski: May I just ask how society has received the prices program?

Urban: We know that it has been a subject of lively discussion in many work places.

Renate Marsch: Why did the National Defense Committee choose to meet on the very day the prices communique was issued?

Urban: I do not think there is any connection between the two events. You could ask the same question whatever day the Committee meets. The communique on the Committee session contains nothing to justify asking such a question and seeking a connection.

Irena Turska, *Chlopska Droga* [The Peasant Path]: Coal supplies have been a source of much conflict and tension in rural areas for many years. The situation this year is not bad. Will the constantly deteriorating supplies of coal to rural areas not decrease the rural population's standard of living, and will these supplies not cause a drop in production because coal is a factor of production

in Poland? What does the government intend to do to assure agriculture, which has the highest production figures, of its basic factor of production?

Urban: Coal supplies for domestic purposes during the first 9 months of this year were 2.8 million tonnes more than during the first 9 months of last year, as a result of which coal exports have suffered, unfortunately. However, coal extraction this year has been no higher. Industry received 1.1 million tonnes, and 1.7 million tonnes were allocated for living and communal purposes. This has caused a 3 million tonnes drop in exports. One reason for the increased supply of coal to the market was the severe winter.

The government is aware of rural areas' criticism about insufficient supplies of coal. Nevertheless, we have adopted the principle that we will not invest in coal mines; at least we will not do so in order to increase extraction, but to maintain it at its present level. On the other hand, investments will be made in those areas that can bring about an economic consumption of coal. Rural areas have to use lump coal today. This coal only forms 17 percent of total coal extraction. I am merely presenting this year's situation. This year it was necessary to increase coal supplies to heat housing in cities where there are no other heat sources, and I repeat that maintaining the present level of coal supplies has meant reducing exports, with terrible consequences for the entire economy, including agriculture, and with terrible consequences for some coal consumers, to whom we caused hardship. I have in mind hardship caused in the Soviet Union, especially the Baltic republics, because of the restricted supplies of Polish coal there. I have no data about coal supplies to rural areas, which have also risen considerably. Perhaps we will supply you with this information later.

Irena Turska: The need to reduce exports is final, but what I want to know is if the government is doing anything to economize on coal consumption in industry, where there is a lot of waste. It is very easy to save coal at the expense of rural areas, because one can simply stop supplying coal to these areas and then the peasants have to get by as best as they can. In order to heat housing, they can simply take some of the coal destined for production purposes, and then less will be produced. But is there any really concrete program to bring about increased savings in industry, for example in cement works? Are rural areas being supplied with equipment powered by fuels other than lump coal? There has been talk of doing so for many years, but it is still being considered.

Urban: There is a complete program of modernizing coal-powered equipment, as a result of which less coal will be burnt and the use of other, worse categories of coal permitted. The same applies to rural areas. This involves building plants to produce briquettes and other

plants to manufacture equipment powered by these worse categories of coal. A program dealing with this already exists, but is very detailed. The Press Office will supply you with the data.

Juliggi Tinienatsy, Italy: What do you think of the fact that the communique from yesterday's meeting between General Jaruzelski and Cardinal Glemp contains no positive assessment of the economic reform in Poland and that the Catholic Church has said nothing at all about the coming referendum?

Urban: The Catholic Church is not a body of economic experts or an economic institution. The communique says that the meeting was mainly devoted to national topics, especially the program of economic, political, and social reforms. It also says that both sides laid emphasis on a union of efforts by all Poles. This need for joint activity was also stressed by the communique following the latest Episcopal conference. After the talks, both distinguished interlocutors gave brief statements to a Polish Television news reporter, expressing satisfaction with them. The primate said he considers the national affairs we have to solve difficult, but there are prospects of solving them rationally, taking into account the values professed by the church. Wojciech Jaruzelski said that when there is talk of matters of supreme importance for the country, common concern for them permits a mutual understanding. The communique from these talks also describes the stage reached by the positive development of Polish-Vatican relations and the legal settlement of state-Church relations.

Antonio Javaloges, [Madrid] EFE: Is the government bearing in mind the "Solidarity" National Executive Commission's warning about the possibility of dramatic events as a result of the price rises?

Urban: No, the government is not bearing in mind signals from a body as devoid of seriousness as this. It is not even bearing in mind the latest statements by Mr Walesa, the same man who threatened us with a fight to the death in 1981 and who, if the UPI agency is to be believed, is today threatening to chop us with a hatchet.

Jan Repa, BBC: Since I arrived in Poland last week, I have succeeded in recording a very heavily-jammed BBC program several times. At the meeting of the British Institute of International Affairs in London in the Spring, you said that there is no jamming in Poland, but instead that there were atmospheric disturbances which were going to be investigated. Have the causes of these disturbances, been discovered yet, and what is the PPR Government's stance toward jamming in general and toward the BBC in particular?

Urban: I uphold everything I said in London on this subject, and I expect the disturbances that might still exist during BBC reception to disappear soon. I have nothing to say about the general issue you ask about. However, we do have a lot to say about the permanent

cases, less frequent in the BBC than among other Polish-language stations, of exceeding the limits of information activity and violating the principles of objective information, in fact the principles defined in the CSCE Final Act. I have already had occasion today to illustrate these faults of radio stations broadcasting in Polish, and I mentioned two or three current discrepancies, to put it mildly, by Radio Free Europe, which of course has nothing to do with the BBC.

Renate Marsch: Have you any idea of how much it costs to jam these radio stations?

Urban: No, I have not. Poland does not jam the BBC. That is all I have to say on this subject.

Gulio Gelibter, [Rome] ANSA: At his last press conference, General Jaruzelski said he was very optimistic as far as society's support for the reform in general and for the referendum in particular is concerned. We know the opposition is against reforms like these, that the church has not said anything at all about them, and that the trade unions have not yet published any official document on this subject. So who in fact supports the referendum and reforms? Do they only concern the government and party, or someone else as well? The trade unions have not even published an official document following the publication of the report on prices policy.

Urban: The reforms in Poland are supported by everyone, in other words the majority of citizens and all the organized forces active in Poland. The question of prices is but a part of the general concept of reform, and if there is a considerable degree of national accord on any subject, then this subject is profound economic and political reforms. Your question suggests that no one supports these reforms apart from the party. This suggestion is completely erroneous and far from the truth. Mrs Marsch asked about the referendum. The referendum asks about the reforms and about one's support for their rapid and comprehensive implementation. Therefore, the matter is strictly connected with the reforms, and it is difficult to be in favor of them and not wish to speak out in favor of them at the same time.

Leaders' Public Appearances 11-17 Nov

AU201601[Editorial Report] Warsaw *Trybuna Ludu* in Polish monitored from 12 to 18 November reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (date and page number given in parentheses):

On 11 November Jozef Czyrek, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended festivities to celebrate the regaining of Polish independence on 11 November, 1918 (12 Nov, p 2). On 14 November, he met with veterans of the workers movement at the Central Committee headquarters (16 Nov, p 2);

On 13 November Tadeusz Porebski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met with the political-administrative leadership of Siedlce Voivodship in Siedlce (14-15 Nov, p 2). On 12 November he received a visiting delegation from the Education Department of the SED Central Committee headed by Hannes Hoernig, SED Central Committee member and head of this department (13 Nov, p 2);

On 16 November Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and State Council deputy chairman, received at the Belvedere Franz Joachim Schoeller, FRG ambassador; and Diawara Gagny, Mauritanian ambassador, who presented their credentials (17 Nov, p 2);

Alfred Miodowicz, Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, attended the fourth extraordinary trade union congress of shipbuilders in Szczecin on 15 November (16 Nov, p 3);

On 11 November Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, chaired a meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Agriculture, Food Economy, and Forestry Commission to discuss the role of young people in rural communities and their level of party commitment (12 Nov, p 1).

Henryk Bednarski, Central Committee secretary and minister of national education, attended a 11-12 November session of the Committee of Experts in National Education in Pulawy (13 Nov, p 2). On 16 November he attended a meeting of the PRON Science and Education Commission (17 Nov, p 2);

Central Committee secretary Andrzej Wasilewski held a meeting on 11 November with Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski in order to discuss problems of culture during the second stage of the economic reform (12 Nov, p 2). On 13 November he held another meeting on the same subject with the cultural activists of Bielsko-Biala Voivodship (14-15 Nov, p 2).

RCP National Conference Set for 14-16 Dec

AU201907 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1842 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/11/1987—In order to give the party bodies and organizations the possibility to prepare in adequate conditions the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party, the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP decided in its November 20 meeting, based on consultation of the members of the Party's CC, that the conference take place on December 14-16, 1987.

Eyewitnesses Cited on Brasov Riots

AU221515 Paris AFP in English 1441 GMT 22 Nov 87

[Text] Vienna, Nov 22 (AFP)—At least two militiamen were killed last weekend when thousands of workers rioted in Brasov, Romania's second largest city, according to Western eyewitnesses arriving in Vienna Sunday.

The city was literally "besieged" by Army troops, called in to help teargas-firing police tackle the unrest, in which between 10,000 and 20,000 people took part, they said, adding that there had been many arrests.

(One of the militiamen guarding the town hall had his throat cut while another was beaten to death inside the building by angry demonstrators, the West German weekly *Bild am Sonntag* said.)

The witnesses said workers at the huge truck factory of Steagul Rosu (Red Flag) had been told to spend Saturday night at the factory so they could be taken by bus Sunday morning to vote in town council elections.

The workers became incensed when party officials came to the factories to justify wage cuts that were ordered because production quotas had not been met, they said.

The rioters then ransacked the town hall, throwing documents and furniture out of the windows and tearing down red flags and portraits of President Nicolae Ceausescu to shouts of "Down With the Party", "We Want Freedom," and "Death to Ceausescu."

They also looted the party's special food shop, which sells Western goods to party executives.

The reports said police did not intervene during the night but thousands of police and troop reinforcements were brought in the next day to restore order.

(*Bild* said that the city was still out of bounds to foreigners this weekend, but this could not be immediately confirmed. It added police were guarding factory gates and that the manager of one of the big factories had been fired for "incompetence".)

The riots in Brasov, which has a strong German-speaking minority, are the latest in a series of protests in Romania all triggered either by food shortages or by legislation linking wages to production quotas which are virtually impossible to fulfill due to lack of raw materials and energy rationing.

Analysts said the Brasov riots were a bad sign at the start of what promises to be a colder than usual winter.

The country has suffered since 1980 from a severe energy shortage resulting in frequent gas and electricity cuts each winter. Private motoring is also banned in winter. Power stations have been under military control since 1985.

At the end of last year, several strikes occurred in Transylvania which has a large Hungarian minority and in January leaflets calling for "a revolt" against the Ceausescu regime were distributed, including to Western embassies.

Ceausescu Chairs Executive Committee Meeting

AU202042 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1946 GMT 20 Nov 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/11/1987—The Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP met on November 20 under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu and analyzed several reports on the way in which action had been taken for the fulfillment of the plan of socio-economic development, as well as the measures for the improvement of the general activity and the enhancement of the responsibility of the party bodies and organizations, of the ministries, central departments and enterprises in the fulfillment of all plan indices.

Members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, ministers, heads of other central organizations took the floor in this connection, reporting the way how the tasks in their domains of activity were fulfilled, the measures taken for the liquidation of the shortcomings and the improvement of the work in all sectors, for the implementation of the plan for November and December, for the whole 1987 year.

Starting from the situation presented, from the conclusions drawn from this analysis, Nicolae Ceausescu criticized the activity of some ministries and economic units, of county party committees, that had not taken action in full firmness and responsibility for the fulfillment of the programs of measures set for the liquidation of the shortcomings and for ensuring all necessary conditions for coping with the arrears and fulfilling the plan in good conditions.

The RCP general secretary assessed that every condition was at hand so that the planned tasks for 1987 be fulfilled and the whole economic activity be raised onto a higher level of quality and efficiency, through a better organization of labor and production.

The Executive Political Committee also debated a string of issues related to activity in agriculture, especially to the unfolding and conclusion of the autumn farming operations as well as in animal breeding.

The Executive Political Committee also analyzed a report on the evolution of prices and tariffs over January 1-September 30, 1987.

It was assessed that both the retail price and tariff index and the index of prices of farm produce delivered to the state stock were within the planned limits or even below, which illustrated the realistic character of the party and state policy of maintaining price stability, the sound character and might of the economy.

'Modernization of the Economy' Reviewed

*AU201250 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1015 GMT 20 Nov 87*

["Romania: The Modernization of the Forces of Production"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/11/1987—The RCP's strategy for socialist construction has been consistently set on the fact that the attainment of the targets of this wide-scope work decisively depends on the creation of powerful forces of production and the building of a complex, modern economy.

The dynamism of Romania's socioeconomic progress, which is an outcome of this outlook, is tellingly reflected in statistics. In 1985, the national income—an indicator which expresses the development level of the production forces, the size of enlarged reproduction and the economic strength of a country—was 4.4 times up from 1965 and 18 times larger than in 1950, Romania placing on one of the leading standings in the world as far as the economic growth rate was concerned. The value of commissioned fixed assets amounted to roughly 3,000 thousand million lei in 1986, which compares with only 517 thousand million lei in 1965—with more than 90 percent of them created in the period that followed that year of reference.

Current Romanian development plans center on the implementation of an extensive programme for the modernization of the economy, which is intended to provide for the balance and dynamism of the reproduction process, the improvement of structures by branches, subbranches and territorial units, so that the economic and social complex may operate at high efficiency levels.

In the focus is industry and, within it, power engineering and the raw materials production.

In its turn, the manufacturing industry will know deep-going qualitative changes and will rapidly incorporate advanced technologies. By 1990 more than 96 percent of the marketable production supplied by the machine-building industry will include new and redesigned products, according to world technological standards. The average rate of production renewal in this branch, envisaged for the period spanning 1986-1990, will provide for the manufacture of roughly 3,000 new products a year—complex products, such as great-depth drilling installations, offshore drilling installations, large-capacity turbo sets, solar panels, complex equipment for nuclear power plants, multipurpose farm machinery, 5,000-hp electric locomotives, passenger aircraft, precision machine tools, a.o.

Noteworthy in chemistry, one of the key areas to which special attention is paid within the structure of the respective branch, are fine-synthesis chemistry, small-tonnage products, highly pure, semiconducting and monocrystalline materials, the production of white products resulting from the superior refining of crude, the production of chemicalizable hydrocarbons, of liquid fertilizers and of complex fertilizers with microelements. In view are also the expansion of the manufacture of biosynthesis and fine-synthesis products in the medicine industry and the stepped-up development and diversification of plastics rubber items.

Similar processes will get under way in the other industrial branches and subbranches as well. As for agriculture, the mechanization process in the case of both plant production and animal breeding, is expected to be completed, in broad lines, by the end of the ongoing five-year period. In 1990, agriculture will boast 180,000 tractors, that is one tractor for roughly 55 hectares of arable terrain on an average, as well as highly productive machinery able to simultaneously perform several operations. The amount of high-analysis fertilizers will stand at 3.5-4 million tons, that is 335-380 kg per hectare on an average. In the 1986-1990 quinquennium as many as 1.8-2.3 million hectares will be laid out for irrigation. Special emphasis will be placed on the development of animal breeding, whose weight will be of 48 percent or so in 1990.

The modernization of the Romanian economy at present rely on broad activities of scientific research, technological engineering and application of technical progress—with the direct participation of central scientific investigation and design institute, academies of science, all research and technological engineering units, ministries, industrial central departments and large units throughout the country.

Ceausescu Meets with Yasir 'Arafat

*AU221737 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1712 GMT 22 Nov 87*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 22/11/1987—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of Romania, met Sunday, November 22 with Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, now on a visit to Romania.

Nicolae Ceausescu and Yasir 'Arafat expressed their satisfaction at meeting again, at exchanging anew opinions on questions of mutual interest, and at continuing their friendly dialogue which evinces the fine ties established and developing between the RCP, Romania and the PLO, between the Romanian people and the Palestinian people.

President Nicolae Ceausescu reiterated on this occasion, too, the principled, consistent position of the Romanian party and state on the Middle East issue, Romania's determination to further support the Palestinian people's just cause for the attainment of its legitimate aspirations after living in peace and security in a free and independent state of its own.

During the talks, a survey was made of the latest developments in the Middle East, and it was considered that everything possible should be done for a global, just and durable settlement of the situation in the area, for the establishment of a lasting peace on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, the resolution of the Palestinian people's problem through the recognition of its right to self-determination, the setting up of an independent Palestinian state of its own included, the ensurance of the integrity, sovereignty and security of all the states in the region.

Along this line, the need was stressed for stepped-up efforts to calling a UN-sponsored international conference, in a very near future, to be attended by all the sides concerned, inclusive of the PLO as the Palestinian people's sole and legitimate representative, as well as by Israel and the permanent members of the Security Council.

At the end of the talks Nicolae Ceausescu and Yasir 'Arafat underlined the open and fruitful character of their dialogue which goes down as another outstanding contribution to strengthening the cooperation between the RCP and the PLO, the friendship and solidarity between the Romanian people and the Palestinian people.

The interview was attended by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Hayil 'Abd al-Hamid, member of the Central Committee of the "al-Fatah" organization and of the National Palestinian Council, and Mohamed Chreih [name as received], charge d'affaires ad interim of the PLO Bucharest, attended.

The interview and talks passed in an atmosphere of cordiality and warm friendship.

Holdes Talks

*AU222028 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian
2000 GMT 22 Nov 87*

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, this afternoon met once again with Comrade Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization. On this occasion, they continued their exchange of views on ways and means to solve the Middle East situation and the problem of the Palestinian people, and to achieve a just and lasting peace in that area.

In conclusion of the talks, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Yasir 'Arafat stressed the frank and fruitful dialogue they had, which goes down as a fresh and important contribution to strengthening cooperation between the RCP, Romania and the PLO, and the friendship and solidarity between the Romanian people and the Palestinian people.

The meetings and talks took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and warm friendship.

Ceausescu, Wife Depart for Egypt 23 Nov

*AU230755 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
0740 GMT 23 Nov 87*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 23/11/1987—President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania and Madame Elena Ceausescu left Bucharest in the morning of November 23 for an official friendly visit to the Arab Republic of Egypt at the invitation of President Muhammad Husni Mubarak and Madame Suzanne Mubarak.

The presidential aircraft took [off] from Bucharest's Otopeni Airport at 0730 GMT.

Ceausescu Receives Netherlands Envoy

*AU201623 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1556 GMT 20 Nov 87*

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/11/1987—President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received on Friday, November 20, the ambassador of the Netherlands, Charles S. van Straten, on ending his mission in Romania.

During the talk held on the occasion, reference was made to the friendly and cooperative relations between the two countries, as well as to the wish of further developing them.

The Dutch ambassador warmly thanked for the support he enjoyed in fulfilling his mission in Romania.

Mojsov Receives 'Arafat on Belgrade Stopover

*LD202137 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2053 GMT 20 Nov 87*

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—SFRY Presidency President Lazar Mojsov meeting in Belgrade today with Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. 'Arafat is on a stopover visit.

Mojsov and 'Arafat exchanged views on developments in the present stage of the Middle East crisis, and the PLO leader briefed Mojsov on the Palestine issue and the Middle East problem in general in the light of the decisions of the recent Arab summit in Jordan's capital, Amman.

Yasir 'Arafat noted that this summit meeting had been successful because it gathered all the heads of Arab countries together, and because it had been marked by a high level of mutual understanding, especially with regard to the Middle East situation and the Palestinian issue.

Shortly before his meeting with President Mojsov, 'Arafat told TANJUG and Belgrade television that he felt it was his duty, after the Arab summit, to come to Belgrade and convey the outcome of "this very important Arab summit" to "his sincere friends and brothers in Yugoslavia." "For this reason I consider that my second visit here, after only a few weeks, should not seem unexpected," the PLO leader said.

Slovene Leadership 'Condemned' Austrian Policy

*LD222327 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1833 GMT
22 Nov 87*

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 22 (TANJUG)—The recent agreement of Austria's three political parties (the Socialist Party, the People's Party and the Freedom Party) on having the so-called "pedagogical model" of schooling introduced in the province of Carinthia, southern Austria, has touched off sharp and dignified protests in the republic of Slovenia, northwestern Yugoslavia.

Under the decision taken by the three Austrian parties on November 18, bilingual schooling should be discontinued in Austria's province of Carinthia as from the next schoolyear. To be separated in this way are children speaking Slovene and German languages. Thus, possibilities for further schooling, specialized training and getting employed will become considerably limited for the Slovene minority children.

Almost a thousand Ljubljana people demonstrated in front of the republic of Austria's consulate-general here today, denouncing the agreement of the three Austrian parties as an act of segregation and stimulation to the process of step-by-step assimilation of Austria's national minorities.

The people in the town of Maribor and other places in the republic of Slovenia protested equally sharply.

Slovenia's war veterans called on all true democrats in Austria and Italy to come out in favour of having a democratic atmosphere and peaceful life together prevail in central Europe.

"Is it possible that we disagree on having the world's only chance in love among children," Slovenian writers wondered in their protest. Peter Handke, an Austrian writer, [word indistinct] their protest.

The "pedagogical model" in Carinthia is in direct contravention of the Austrian state treaty, Article 7, the official spokesman for Yugoslavia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs evaluated.

Slovenia's top leadership, too, condemned the decision taken by Austria's leading parties on having the youngsters of the Slovenian minority in Carinthia pushed into a social, cultural and social ghetto.

Demonstration in Ljubljana

*LD201457 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 20 Nov 87*

[Text] Ljubljana, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—Almost 1,000 Ljubljana citizens gathered today to demonstrate in front of the Austrian Consulate General in Ljubljana to protest at the recently adopted agreement of the three Austrian parties on the approval of a "Carinthian pedagogical model", which forces the members of the Slovene minority in Austria into a national ghetto. The text of a petition was handed over to a representative of the Consulate by Jozse Osterman, president of the Ljubljana SAWP City Conference. When the petition was handed over the consulate representative told Osterman that the consul general, who is in Graz participating in the Dizdarevic-Mock talks, himself expressed disagreement with the decision of the leaders of the three leading Austrian parties.

Commentary on Balkan Meeting With Albania

*AU221516 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
14-15 Nov 87 p 13*

[Vlado Teslic "Week in the World" column: "Neither Sharpened Pencils Nor Poisonous Arrows"]

[Excerpt] When someone accuses the highest SFRY officials (the anti-Yugoslav term would be "Belgrade") and the press (under which one always implies *BORBA*) of opposing Albania's participation in the agreed meeting of foreign ministers of Balkan countries, this is neither an objective nor a political assessment.

If we used the logic of the Albanian newspaper *Zeri i Popullit* which accuses us, among other things, of "sharpening pencils and poisonous arrows," we could then accuse "certain circles in Tirana" of trying to blackmail us through their presence at the forthcoming conference.

Balkan Diplomacy [subhead]

Nobody in Yugoslavia has ever concealed his interest in talks on greater cooperation—proceeding from joint interests—of equal Balkan countries, including the participation of Albania, of course, and nobody else has so much regretted its persistent refusal, without valid reasons, to take part in inter-Balkan talks. And nobody wants Albania's absence, especially now when the Albanian Government has already accepted Belgrade's initiative and invitation.

The subject of a "favorable atmosphere" for the conference is another matter, and it is of course very important to its success. Yugoslavia has nothing to change in its foreign policy in this respect, and need not make any concessions, abandon its principles, nor make any sacrifices; it is a country that has always not only been led by the interests of international peace but has also proceeded from the basic interests of all the countries in this region which are identical or similar.

We have not demanded and do not demand that Albania change its policy, renounce Enver Hoxha, and reconcile itself to the Yugoslav positions in order to participate in the Balkan conference, as several *Zeri i Popullit* articles, full of accusations against Yugoslavia and others, imputed recently. It is not a matter of Albania wanting to keep to its foreign policy at any cost, although judging by some initiatives, it wants to make quite a few changes. These changes, however, refer chiefly to the policy toward other, nonbloc countries. [sentence as published]

Does anybody think that the Balkan foreign ministers' conference, the first of its kind since the war, can be used for propaganda, especially against a participant country, when it is clear that the conference has no alternative but to examine inter-Balkan relations proceeding both from the general trends in the world and from the direct interests of the peoples in this region?

Romanian President Ceausescu's talks in Belgrade this week show our interest and our aims: more mutual understanding, more cooperation and agreement among neighbors even on problems where differences exist. Many people will notice that the Romanians emphasized turning the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, as well the complex of questions in the field of international economic relations, in which they will certainly find support on our side. Others will notice the Yugoslav insistence on the broadest varied and equal cooperation, on tremendous potentials for further economic cooperation and the advancement of good-neighborliness, in which respect the national minorities remain important bridges.

It is difficult to see other issues that the ministerial conference of the Balkan countries should address. The agenda will of course be agreed upon by the participants themselves. However, anyone cherishing illusions that he can set conditions at this gathering is deluding himself.

The danger to peace and security in the Balkans does not arise out of sending militia detachments to Kosovo, nor out of our ideological differences, the "blunted pencils" in Tirana continue to insist, and the "arrows" that are shot into the void. [sentence as published]

The dangers to peace and security in this region have always come from outside and not from inside, regardless of borders, nations, minorities, ideas, economy, or politics. [passage omitted]

22 Workers Suspended Following Strike

LD202129 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 20 Nov

[Text] Titograd, 20 Nov (TANJUG)—Twenty-two workers at the aluminium combine in Titograd (18 from the Elektroliza Basic Organization of Associated Labor and 4 from the Livnica Basic Organization of Associated Labor) have been suspended because of the 200 million dinars in damage caused by them to the collective with their strike on 17 and 18 November, about which the public was informed today at a news conference.

Expressing dissatisfaction at receiving their pay late and at the stated possibility that owing to the application of new regulations, their personal incomes would even be reduced, about 40 workers of the second shift in the Elektroliza Basic Organization of Associated Labor refused to work on 17 November. This occurred in a plant in which there should be no interruption to the production process.

Representatives of the aluminium combine stressed at a news conference that this move by the best paid workers (who to be sure work in the most difficult jobs) met with general condemnation by the 5,000 workers of this collective.

Journalists today were not given a real answer as to why the strike at the aluminium combine was not reported for 3 days. It seems that it was precisely this lack of information given to workers and the public, and the untimely announcement of the true facts, which was behind this serious strike, which in no way can be measured against similar actions in other collectives.

Two-Day Strike Ends at Belgrade Factory

AU231043 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] Belgrade—After a 2-day work stoppage, which began Monday with the involvement of 450 workers, production at the Zemun Basic Organization of Associated Labor of the Navip organization was running normally this morning. Another Navip basic organization of associated labor, Vinea, which bottles Pepsi-Cola lent the necessary means for the workers to be paid a higher personal income, Aleksandar Mihajlovic, the deputy director, announced today.

Strike Ends at Sarajevo Kljuc Factory

AU231043 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
19 Nov 87 p 1

[M.L. report]

[Text] Sarajevo—Workers of the Sarajevo knitwear factory basic organization of associated labor of the Kljuc-SIK work organization, a total of 716 employees, stopped work for 40 hours. The reason for the stoppage was indignation at the payment of extra wages to 50 workers for successfully performed work. At an extraordinary meeting it was said that another 30 workers deserved the extra.

FEC Resignation Debated

AU192131 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
8 Nov 87 p 5

[Commentary by Predrag Tasic "Should the Government Resign?"]

[Text] That which we supposed would happen when we introduced the FEC program of measures and activities to curb inflation and stabilize the economy really did happen. The FEC program, as a consistent group of compromising solutions which addresses everybody and nobody and in doing so encroaches a little on the interests of everybody from whom it expects support, has been directly attacked by all parties.

No Yugoslav Government to date has experienced such a cannonade of protests as Branko Mikulic's government has after submitting the Anti-Inflation Program to public debate. A shower of reproaches and attacks came from left and right, both from those people who know economic science and from those who know nothing about the economy or, to put it better, know only that a successful economic policy is the one which brings them a better life.

Young people, SAWP and trade union activists, businessmen, as well as the communal, city, republican, and provincial bureaucracy and administration have all spoken against the Anti-Inflation Program of Branko Mikulic's government. This all-people's cry has been crowned with the official initiative of the Ljubljana Trade Union Communal Council to open the procedure to recall the FEC. The Ljubljana Trade Union people explain this move, of a kind so far not recorded in our policy, by the fact that the measures the FEC had already carried out, as well as the most recent ones, are so inefficient and damaging that the Federal Government would have to submit its resignation.

Who Is to Blame? [subhead]

Does this mean that we shall soon witness a historic event in the postwar development of the SFRY, the first fall of a Yugoslav Government?

During the days to come events will take one of three possible directions, thereby bringing the answer to this question. The optimum variant would be that—by reason of their responsibility for the package of measures from June 1986 which incited inflation and aggravated the country's foreign liquidity—not only the complete Branko Mikulic government, but also delegates of both SFRY Assembly chambers who adopted the FEC packages, leave political life. They should also be accompanied by those politicians who initiated such a government economic policy. In this respect, one would have to make an analysis of the top Yugoslav politicians' moves and statements in the period from the preparations for and the holding of the party plenum in April 1985, up to the SFRY Presidency session in November the same year. One would then be able to see who gave orders, who provided ideology, and who implemented the idea of "programmed" inflation which was so readily accepted by the FEC, headed by Mikulic.

However, this variant is difficult to realize, because it is hardly possible that so many people can be withdrawn (recalled) from political life within such a short period of time. And who would do that anyway? This is why the so-called realistic alternative is more probable. According to this screenplay, only Branko Mikulic and his FEC would exit the public scene and they will be recalled or made to resign by the people who are equally responsible for the country's lack of ability in finally solving the crisis.

In saying so, we do not think only about the SFRY Assembly, but also about republican and provincial executive councils, as well as their assemblies. Their responsibility for retaining the "status quo" is not an inch smaller than the FEC's. After all, those who disagree with this should tell us what those republican and provincial executive councils have done (only within their authority) to reduce unrealistic demands, what they have done about stimulating production, about increasing the workers' motivation, about the necessary restructuring of the economy, about relieving the organizations' income from numerous taxes, or about the development of small businesses. Should Branko Mikulic go and reprimand or replace communal clerks who make fools of people who come to ask for permits for private work? After all, the FEC president's past attempt to create a more favorable climate for quicker investment in the country's economic system through talks with our businessmen who live and work abroad was given the "thumbs down," and some of the participants in this fatal attack on the FEC president were later rewarded by being given new posts.

Should perhaps Mikulic, Zemljarić, or Rikanović fight against the communal bureaucracy and economic technocracy whose unreasonable behavior directly results in the reduction of the foreign exchange inflow from tourism? Is Mikulic really expected to go to our "touristic Mecca" Poreč and ask caterers and clerks there why one cannot have lunch in their town between 1500 and 1800

(because the restaurant staff are having a rest then) or set off for our touristic pearl Dubrovnik and reproach people in power for closing restaurant as early as midnight in the middle of the tourist season?!

The same is true for building flats, and a number of other areas, which can be influenced irrespective of FEC policy. However, this is not usually done—except in Slovenia to a certain extent—but, instead, the government is attacked from everywhere not only for its guilt, but more often for which it is not guilty. When calling Mikulic and the FEC on the carpet, one wants to shed responsibility for our present crisis.

What Can a New FEC Do? [subhead]

All this does not mean that Branko Mikulic's government should not leave the public scene. On the contrary, the fall of the government is currently one of the prerequisites for Yugoslav society to be able to escape the stalemate. You ask why, since the FEC is not the only responsible organ. This is because the FEC's withdrawal or resignation would make it completely clear to the next FEC that a Yugoslav Government must bear responsibility both for what it does and what it does not do. The present FEC's decision would create favorable conditions for calling others on the carpet and for initiating procedures of establishing the responsibility of all those people who are, together with Mikulic, to blame for the current situation.

One can raise the following question about this screenplay: Will a new FEC be able to do anything new working in the same conditions as the old one?

At first glance, this is a reasonable and appropriate question, because the breakdown occurred in the system and not in its inconsistent implementation. Where it is being implemented inconsistently (Slovenia), it is producing exceptional results, and where the spirit and rules of the system are being obeyed consistently (in all other regions) it is creating only losses and dubious situations. On the other hand, the Slovenes are the greatest protectors of the existing system (the one they do not comply with), while everyone else, with more or less fervor tries to implement it! Real socialist dialectics! One would say that in Slovenia there is an overwhelming fear of creating a system in which the majority of the unsuccessful would terrorize the minority of the successful. Under the present circumstances, expanding democracy and not obeying basic tenets, conditions are being created where a capable bureaucratic-technocratic structure can accomplish much, even in the existing system. After all, people have long said: A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush.

"Probable" Alternative [subhead]

However, let us return to our topic, the FEC. In a situation where it is clear that limitations exist in the system and not in the people, the departure of Branko

Mikulic's government would create a favorable climate for changes. The new FEC will face the same or even greater problems, this time with more resolve and less readiness to accept compromises. If it does not manage to solve them, a new FEC will come, which will condition its survival and the possibility to undertake efficient measures with the replacement of the bureaucratic-administrative system by a market-plan economy.

It may be necessary for this FEC to fall, and maybe two or three more, but then the public will have completely formed a certain knowledge of why we fail to progress on step, why we fail to adopt less or more successful programs for which there is nobody to implement. When this is realized, society will have to undertake measures to remove causes or it will come back from this "democratic outing" to be once again hiding causes and cherishing volunteerism as the ideals of the system.

A federal system such as Yugoslavia's, which is based on consensus—and which is more necessary than ever since a "veto" can prevent a dictatorship of the unsuccessful majority over the successful minority—can function only on the principle of a permanent crisis, and the earlier one realizes this, we will all be better off. In order that an FEC survives such conditions, first of all it must mobilize the Yugoslav public to defend its measures and programs. If it fails to do so, as Branko Mikulic's government has failed with the Anti-Inflation Program, a new government will appear which will offer a Yugoslav program in contrast to individual interests. A new failure and a permanent crisis of the government will result in the realization that what is needed are bigger changes if not only policy, but also in the political superstructure in which no program works. Therefore, it is only through political struggle and the permanent expansion of democracy that one can create prerequisites for finding a way out of the crisis and to do so via the roads of socialism and self-management.

There is also the third, let us call it the probable variant. This variant is all about the term "compromise." The obvious example of this is what has recently been happening with the anti-inflation program. First, everybody shelled it with the heaviest artillery, and then accepted it but demanded further work on it. In this particular case, the probable variant means success for Branko Mikulic's government in surviving what is previously the most serious blow to its integrity. In other words, not to fall, but to continue to exist.

The government must "pay" for its survival with economic moves that have political weight and in this way try to cushion the severity of the sharpest criticism. Among these moves of "good will" one must mention the sharp slide in the dinar exchange rate, widening the list of prices that enjoy a more liberal regime of controls, continuing the mildly restrictive monetary-credit policy, and broadening the list of exceptions. In addition to this, the FEC will go for a reduction in the volume of its measures—according to one variant from 120 to 40—

which should create an impression of resoluteness. This should be helped by dividing the measures into short-term measures (which will not significantly encroach on the already attained rights and recognized interests), and long-term measures (which will be adopted in the "near future").

With this variant, Branko Mikulic's government will stay. However, one should not wait long for a new, even more severe protest by the Yugoslav public against the government's actions. And then it will be much more difficult to reach a compromise and direct the general dissatisfaction of the people toward a progressive course.

Own and Somebody Else's Sins [subhead]

Now it is becoming increasingly certain that Branko Mikulic's government could hardly last until the end of its term of office. If it does not leave us tomorrow, then it will do that the day after tomorrow. The government has lost its trust and has gambled away its chances. Today nobody believes any more that this government can produce and carry through a program for the Yugoslav economy's recovery. And if it is certain that this government must fall, due to both its own and somebody else's sins, then the sooner the better for the country.

The key question for a new government would be on whom to rely in creating and implementing the stabilization program. On the workers class which is mainly concerned about how to dish out the biggest salaries possible? Or perhaps on students who in these moments of crisis are striking over bad food and student canteens? Or on sociopolitical organizations and the so-called subjective forces which did not succeed in implementing the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program?

Before answering this, it is necessary to take a look at the trends in the world economy and community. The workers class is practically disappearing. So, for instance, in Italy there are plans to reduce industry's work force by 150,000 next year, but at the same time increase production. At a tool-making machinery fair held in Milan recently, the Japanese demonstrated factories in which only one person works—pressing buttons on a computer. Factories without workers are not the future, but reality in the most developed countries.

This is why our government should also rely on this new stratum, the so-called "scientocracy"—scientific technocracy. This stratum must be enabled to create the SFRY's development policy and be its chief incumbent. Everybody else would appear only as "auxiliary" staff. Only through consultations and not muscles, can Yugoslavia, together with other developed countries, enter the 21st century.

But let us cut the story short: In our specific case the government (or the SFRY Assembly) should select a group of economists (of the same school of thought) and give them the task of creating a consistent anti-inflation program which would then be implemented under their supervision. This does not mean the exclusion of all other schools and opinions, but merely relying on one school of thought, while at the same enabling all opponents to publicly express their views and criticize the government's moves. A similar logic, a logic of relying on science, would also be applied in the functioning of enterprises.

The essence of this is therefore that everybody, from the government to the smallest plants in remote villages, should tie their fate and income to knowledge. Only in this way will we emerge, in the most efficient way, from the darkness of voluntarism and bureaucratic obstinacy into the light of self-management, democracy, and the functioning of the market-planned economy.

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